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HISTORY
OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK.

BY
MARY L. ^{Lewis}BOOTH,
TRANSLATOR OF "MARTIN'S HISTORY OF FRANCE," ETC.

Illustrated.

NEW YORK:
W. R. C. CLARK,
5 BEEKMAN STREET.
1867.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1867,

By W. R. C. CLARK

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District
of New York.

BRADSTREET PRESS.

TO
THE MERCHANTS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
WHO, CHEERFULLY SACRIFICING THEIR INTEREST TO THAT OF
THEIR COUNTRY
IN THE REVOLUTION,
WERE THE FIRST TO PROPOSE A NON-INTERCOURSE ACT—THE LAST
TO RENOUNCE IT, AND THE ONLY ONES TO MAINTAIN
IT INVIOLETE;
AND WHO, BY THEIR ENERGY AND ENTERPRISE, HAVE MADE THEIR CITY
AT THE PRESENT TIME
THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS OF THE WESTERN WORLD,

This Work is Inscribed.

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PREFACE.

THE preparation of this work was first suggested by the need of collecting the floating facts relative to the history and growth of our city, and condensing them into a compact form for the use of the general reader. In the short space of two hundred and fifty years, New York has sprung up, as it were, by magic, from a hamlet of four wretched huts, into the commercial metropolis of the western hemisphere. The many changes that have occurred during this time have been noted by lovers of their native city, who have made collections from time to time of facts and incidents invaluable to the historian ; yet these are scattered among numerous volumes, where few have time to seek and unearth them. Histories of the State also abound ; but there is not a single history of the city of New York from its earliest settlement to the present time.

It has been the aim of the writer in the present work to remedy this deficiency in part, by collecting those important local facts most likely to interest the general reader, and embodying them in a continuous history of the foundation and growth of the city. It cannot be supposed that all the curious and interesting events of the past have thus been noticed—the task would swell volumes to so formidable a size that they would terrify the public, and thus defeat their own object—but it is hoped that nothing of essential importance has been omitted, and that the record given will be found authentic. Especial care has been taken to verify facts and dates by the best authorities, and nothing has been admitted

which has not first been authenticated by reliable testimony.

The plan of the work embraces the history of New York city from the earliest Dutch settlement to the present time. In the beginning, when the histories of the city and the province are inseparable, this necessarily includes the history of the early settlements on the Long Island, New Jersey, and adjacent shores. Later, it is confined to the city alone, retaining so much of the history of the State as is necessary to preserve the thread of the narrative unbroken, and to give the reader a comprehension of the general state of affairs. Especial care has been taken to collect the incidents of the Revolution, in which the city bore so prominent a part, and which are fast growing dim in the minds of the citizens. In this, the writer begs leave to acknowledge the kindness of several distinguished citizens, lineal descendants of our oldest families, who have furnished valuable documents and information, which have been of essential aid in the preparation of the work. Thanks are also due to the courtesy of the various city librarians, who have cheerfully rendered all the assistance in their power to the necessary investigations. Among the authors consulted have been Brodhead, Valentine, Bancroft, Hildreth, O'Callaghan, Irving, Smith, Dunlap, Moulton, Leake, Hardie, Watson, Horsmanden, and Heckewelder, to whom, with many others, of whose information the author has availed herself, she tenders cordial acknowledgments. In conformity with the popular style adopted for the book, references in the form of foot-notes have been avoided.

There is certainly too great an indifference prevailing in respect to the memories of our city. But few vestiges of the past remain to us, and even these few are unheeded. In the hurry of business, our citizens pass and repass the grave of Stuyvesant and the tomb of Montgomery, unconscious of their locality. The busy New Yorkers throng the Post-office, without bestowing a thought upon its eventful history ; the Park, the cradle of the Revolution, is to them a park, and no more ; the

Bowling Green, where the Dutch lads and lasses erected their May-pole and danced around it, and where, at a later date, the patriotic citizens kindled bonfires in honor of liberty with stamp acts and royal effigies, is almost forgotten in the upward course of the tide of business ; and the Battery, with Castle Garden, has fallen into the hands of the Commissioners of Emigration. We are more remiss than our neighboring cities. Boston never forgets to commemorate the anniversary of her tea-party ; few New Yorkers know even that a similar tea-party was held one night in their own harbor. Boston does not forget her " Massacre ;" New York is oblivious of her battle of Golden Hill, her fierce contests around the liberty-pole, and her thousands of victims from the pestilential prisonships. The traditions of our Dutch ancestry are well-nigh forgotten, and little remains of the once strongly-marked individuality of our city. It is true that the influence still lingers ; that the broad, cosmopolitan character, the liberal, tolerant spirit, and the genial, hospitable nature ingrafted on the city by its early settlers, still remain to it. It is true, too, that, as a general rule, New Yorkers think less of men than they do of deeds, and, provided that a thing is done, pay little heed to the means that conduced to its accomplishment. Yet this is in danger of being carried too far when it renders them forgetful of those memorials which it should be the pride and the glory of every people to cherish.

If this work avail in any way to bring these records of the past before the minds of the citizens and inspire them with a love for their native or adopted city, it will answer the purpose for which it is designed. Much time and labor have been bestowed on its preparation ; to what effect the public must decide. To their verdict it is respectfully submitted.

HISTORY

OF THE

CITY OF NEW YORK.

CHAPTER I.

1609—1633.

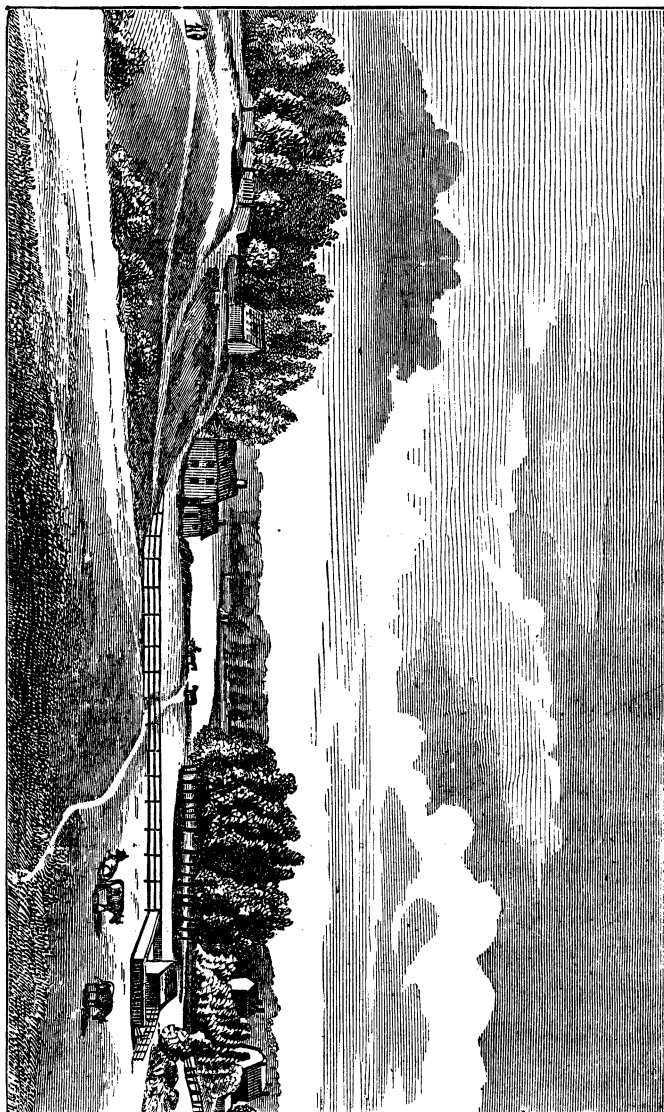
Primitive New York—Aborigines of Manhattan—Causes which led to the Discovery of the Island—Early Navigators—Discovery of Manhattan by Henry Hudson—Landing of the first White Men.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, the island on which now stands the city of New York was uninhabited by white men. The lower part of it consisted of wood-crowned hills and beautiful grassy valleys, including a chain of swamps and marshes, and a deep pond. Northward, it rose into a rocky high ground. The sole inhabitants were a tribe of dusky Indians,—an off-shoot from the great nation of the Lenni Lenape, who inhabited the vast territory bounded by the Penobscot and Potomac, the Atlantic and Mississippi,—dwelling in the clusters of rude wigwams that dotted here and there the surface of the country. The rivers that gird the

island were as yet unstirred by the keels of ships, and the bark canoes of the native Manhattans held sole possession of the peaceful waters.

The face of the country, more particularly described, was gently undulating, presenting every variety of hill and dale, of brook and rivulet. The upper part of the island was rocky, and covered by a dense forest; the lower part grassy, and rich in wild fruit and flowers. Grapes and strawberries grew in abundance in the fields, and nuts of various kinds were plentiful in the forests, which were also filled with abundance of game. The brooks and ponds were swarming with fish, and the soil was of luxuriant fertility. In the vicinity of the present "Tombs" was a deep, clear and beautiful pond of fresh water, (with a picturesque little island in the middle)—so deep, indeed, that it could have floated the largest ship in our navy,—which was for a long time deemed bottomless by its possessors. This was fed by large springs at the bottom, which kept its waters fresh and flowing, and had its outlet in a little stream which flowed into the East River, near the foot of James street. Smaller ponds dotted the island in various places, two of which, lying near each other, in the vicinity of the present corner of the Bowery and Grand street, collected the waters of the high grounds which surrounded them. To the northwest of the Fresh Water Pond, or Kolek, as it afterwards came to be called, beginning in the vicinity of the present St. John's Park, and extending to the northward over an area of some seventy acres, lay an immense marsh, filled with reeds and brambles, and tenanted by frogs and water-snakes. A little

Lispemard's Meadows as seen from the site of the St. Nicholas Hotel.



rivulet connected this marsh with the Fresh Water Pond, which was also connected, by the stream which formed its outlet, with another strip of marshy land, covering the region now occupied by James, Cherry, and the adjacent streets. An unbroken chain of waters was thus stretched across the island from James street at the southeast to Canal street at the northwest. An inlet occupied the place of Broad street, a marsh covered the vicinity of Ferry street, Rutgers street formed the centre of another marsh, and a long line of meadows and swampy ground stretched to the northward along the eastern shore.

The highest line of lands lay along Broadway from the Battery to the northernmost part of the island, forming its back-bone, and sloping gradually to the east and west. On the corner of Grand street and Broadway was a high hill, commanding a view of the whole island, and falling off gradually to the Fresh Water Pond. To the south and west, the country, in the intervals of the marshes, was of great beauty—rolling, grassy, fertile, and well watered. A high range of sand hills traversed a part of the island, from Varick and Charlton to Eighth and Greene streets. To the north of these lay a valley, through which ran a brook, which formed the outlet of the springy marshes at Washington Square, and emptied into the North River at the foot of Hammersly street.

The native Manhattans belonged to that well-known race of North American Indians, the manners and customs of which have been made too familiar by repeated descriptions to require a detailed notice at our hands.

These were the same in outline among all the tribes ; the chief difference lay in the individual character, and in this there was a marked distinction. One tribe was peaceful and gentle ; another, fierce and warlike ; a third, treacherous and cunning. The natives of the island of Manhattan were distinguished for their ferocity, in contrast with their peaceful brethren of the neighboring shores. They lived in plenty on their beautiful island, the women cultivating maize, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco, and gathering the roots and berries which Nature so abundantly yielded ; the men scouring the forests in quest of game, and drawing stores of fish from the ponds and rivers. Their villages were scattered here and there in pleasant localities over the island—villages consisting of clusters of huts, made by twisting the tops of young saplings together, and covering them with strips of bark. Windowless and floorless were they, with boughs for doors, and a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. Yet each of these structures usually accommodated from six to thirty families, who lived in peaceful harmony together.

Like most savages, they were fond of dress, and shaved their crowns, painted their faces, and adorned their deer-skin mantles and moccasins with feathers, shells, and wampum, in the most approved style. This wampum, which served as a circulating medium among them, and afterwards became a recognized currency among the whites, consisted of small cylindrical beads, made from the white lining of the conch and the purple coating inside the muscle-shells—the purple beads being worth twice as much as the white ones.

In common with their race, they were eloquent orators, trusty friends, crafty enemies, brave warriors, and cruel victors. Though at first disposed to receive their white visitors with favor and to treat them kindly, it was not long before their own jealous nature, together with the ever-present spirit of European encroachment, brought on the usual warfare, in which Indian sagacity and cunning was forced to succumb to the superior skill of the white man.

— Let us glance briefly at the causes which led to the discovery of this vast and hitherto unknown region. At the period of which we speak, more than a century had elapsed since Columbus had first unlocked the door of the new continent, yet little was known of it in the old world beyond the bare fact of its existence. Its geography was wholly unknown to its new possessors. Its possible resources were totally disregarded ; in itself it was regarded as a thing of little value, and the chief utility of the new discovery was supposed to lie in the easy communication which it might afford to the rich countries of the East. Now and then an adventurous navigator sailed along the coasts, landing here and there and erecting a flagstaff, and thus taking possession of the country in the name of his sovereign ; yet but few attempts at exploration had been made, and these few had proved, for the most part, unsuccessful. Some of the explorers had penetrated a little way into the interior, and some had planted colonies which had soon been broken up by hardships and discouragement, but few had been able to gain much topographical knowledge of the countries which they claimed to own. The English had

succeeded in establishing a small colony at Jamestown, and the French had founded a colony at Quebec, and made a settlement at Port Royal, but the rest of the country remained in the hands of the natives.

In the year 1524, Francis I. had dispatched Jean Verrazani, a skillful Florentine navigator, with a squadron of four ships, to explore the coast of North America. Soon after their departure, three of these became disabled in a violent tempest, and Verrazani reached the island of Madeira with but a single vessel. Stopping here a few days to refit, he proceeded on his voyage, and reached the American coast, as it is supposed, in the vicinity of Wilmington, whence he coasted northward, and was the first to enter the bay of New York, which he thus describes :

“After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a
“very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through
“which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its
“way to the sea. From the sea, to the estuary of the
“river, any ship heavily laden might pass with the help
“of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were
“riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not
“venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of
“the mouth ; therefore we took the boat, and entering
“the river, we found the country on its banks well
“peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the
“others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of
“various colors. They came towards us with evident
“delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing
“us where we could most securely land our boat. We
“passed up this river about half a league, when we

“found it formed *a most beautiful lake*, three leagues in ‘circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more “of their small boats from one shore to the other, filled “with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, “as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary “wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to “our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which “seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we “supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills “showed many indications of minerals.”

This graphic description is the more worthy of notice, inasmuch as it is the earliest now extant of the island and natives of Manhattan. From here Verrazani proceeded to the haven of Newport, where he anchored for fifteen days, after which he coasted northward as far as the fiftieth degree of north latitude, then returned to France, where he published a brief narrative of his journey. To the newly discovered country, he gave the name of New France, a name by which Canada continued to be known as long as it remained in the possession of the French. This discovery laid the foundation for a claim by France on all the territory north of the Carolinas—a claim which she long continued to maintain. Previously to this, however, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian by birth, in the service of Henry VII., had explored the country from Labrador to Florida, thus giving to England a prior claim upon the same territory. As has before been said, both nations had profited by these discoveries to make settlements in the country thus claimed by each, the one in Virginia and the other in Canada; but at the period in which our history opens,

the whole of the vast territory lying between these distant points remained in the possession of its first owners, the natives. It was not long before a third nation disputed the rich prize with them by virtue of the right of actual possession.

At this time, the Dutch were the richest commercial nation on the globe. Having conquered their independence from Spain and their country from the sea, they turned their attention to commerce, and with such success that it was not long before their sails whitened the waters of every clime. A thousand vessels were built annually in Holland, and an extensive trade was carried on with all the European nations. But their richest commerce was with the East Indies ; and the better to secure themselves in this against all competition, the merchants engaged in this traffic had, in 1602, obtained a charter of incorporation for twenty-one years from the States General under the name of the East India Company, granting them the exclusive monopoly of the trade in the Eastern Seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope on one side and the Straits of Magellan on the other, with other valuable privileges. This obtained, it next became desirable to shorten the passage thither, and thus to render the commerce more lucrative. The voyage to China by the only known route—that by the way of the Cape of Good Hope—consumed two years, and the time seemed long to the impatient merchants. It was thought that a more expeditious passage might be discovered by the way of the Polar Seas, and three expeditions, under the command of Barentsen, Cornelissen, and Heemskerck, were dis-



HENRY HUDSON.

patched, one after the other, in search of it. But they found nothing but ice and snow where they had hoped to find a clear sea, and returned after having endured unheard-of hardships, and earned a lasting fame as the earliest Polar navigators.

The English, in the meantime, had not been idle. Jealous of the growing commercial prosperity of their neighbors, they determined on trying the experiment in which the Dutch had failed. In 1607, a company of merchants fitted out a ship, and intrusted it to the command of Henry Hudson, an Englishman and an experienced and skillful navigator, with instructions to carve a passage through the Polar Seas to China and Japan for the benefit of England. But he met with no better success than his predecessors, and after two voyages, the merchants became discouraged, and refused to permit him to make a third trial.

Hudson, however, was more than ever sanguine of the ultimate success of the enterprise, and after an unsuccessful negotiation with Henri IV. of France, he induced the Dutch East India Co. to fit out a small yacht called the *Halve Maen*, or *Half Moon*, of sixty tons burden, manned with a mixed crew of Dutch and English, twenty in number, to attempt the discovery of the Northwest Passage.*

Hudson sailed from the Texel on his third expedition, on the 6th of April, 1609, hoping to reach the Indies by the way of the Polar Seas. After a stormy voyage, he reached the banks of Newfoundland early in July. Here he lay becalmed for some time, after which he steered to Penobscot Bay, where he remained a week to

* He was instructed to attempt no other route than that above Nova Zembla.

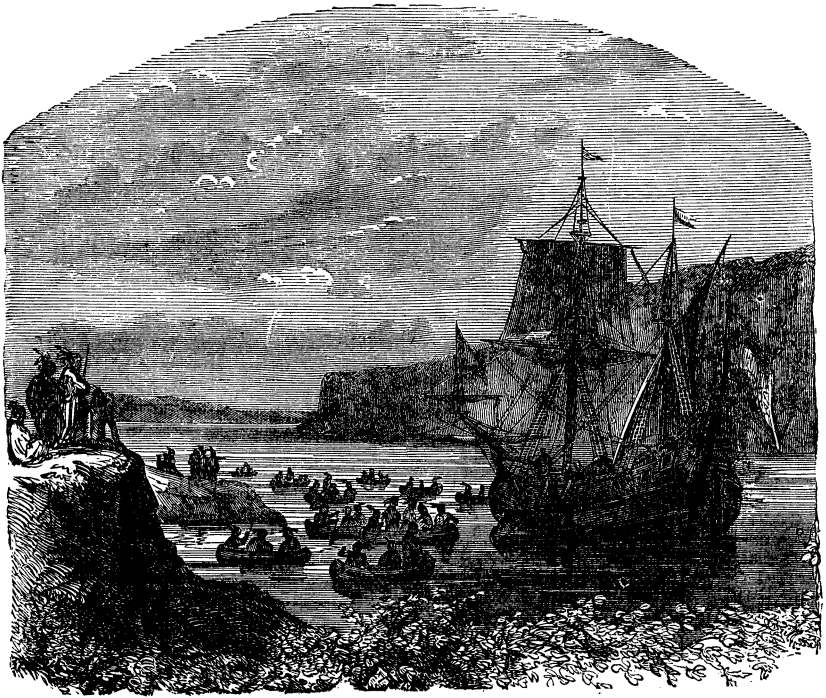
replace his foremast, which had been lost during the voyage, and to mend his rigging. Coasting southward as far as Chesapeake Bay, landing on his way at Cape Cod, which he mistook for an island and named New Holland, he retraced his course, and proceeded northward to Delaware Bay, which he attempted to explore ; but finding the navigation difficult, he again put to sea, and, on the evening of the 2d of Sept., came in sight of the Highlands of Navesinck, which he describes "as a "good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see." Here he remained all night, and setting sail the next morning came to what he describes as "three great "rivers," the northernmost of which he attempted to enter, but was prevented by the shoal bar before it. This was probably Rockaway Inlet ; the others, the Raritan and the Narrows. Foiled in this attempt, he rounded Sandy Hook, sending a boat before him to sound the way, and anchored his vessel in the lower bay. Seeing that the waters were swarming with fish, he sent a boat's crew to obtain some. They landed, it is said, at Coney Island, and were the first white men that ever set foot on the soil of the Empire State.

We can easily excuse Hudson if he forgot the Northern Passage and the Polar Seas—the prime objects of his expedition—in the beautiful scene before him, and determined to explore this strange, new country, which was worth more than all the wealth of the Indies. The shores were covered with gigantic oaks from sixty to seventy feet high, the hills beyond were crowned with grass and fragrant flowers, strange wild birds were flitting through the air, and fish were darting through the

sparkling waters. Friendly Indians, dressed in mantles of feathers and fine furs, and decorated with copper ornaments, flocked on board the vessel, bringing corn, tobacco, and vegetables for the mysterious strangers. Hudson received them kindly, and gave them axes, knives, shoes, and stockings in return. But these articles were all new to them, and they put them to a new use ; they hung the axes and shoes about their necks for ornaments, and used the stockings for tobacco pouches.

Hudson remained in the bay for a week, sending a boat's crew, in the meantime, to sound the river. They passed through the Narrows, entered the bay, and came in sight of the grassy hills of Manhattan. Passing through the Kills, between Staten Island and Bergen Neck, they proceeded six miles up the river, and discovered Newark Bay. On their return, the boat was attacked by the natives. An English sailor named John Colman was struck in the throat by an arrow and killed ; two others were slightly wounded, and the rest escaped to the ship with the dead body of their companion, to carry the tidings of the mournful catastrophe. This was the first white man's blood ever shed in the territory, and it is probable, though not certain, that the sailors themselves were the first aggressors. Colman was an old comrade of Hudson ; he had been the companion of his earlier voyages, and his death inspired him with distrust and hatred of the natives, whom before he had regarded with favor. On the following day—the 9th of September—the first white man's grave in these regions was dug on Sandy Hook, and the spot was christened Colman's Point in memory of the departed.

On the 11th of September, 1609, the Half Moon passed through the Narrows, and anchored in New York Bay. Distrusting the fierce Mannhattans, the captain remained there but a single day. Canoes filled with men, women and children, flocked around the ship, bringing oysters and vegetables ; but though these were purchased, not a native was suffered to come on board.



The Half Moon ascending the river.

The next day Hudson made his way up the river which now bears his name, and through which he hoped to find the long-sought passage to the Indies. He called it the Groot Rivier. It was called by the respective tribes which inhabited its shores, the Shatemuc, Mohi-

can, and Cahohatatea. The Dutch afterwards gave it the name of the Mauritius, in honor of Prince Maurice of Nassau, by which it continued to be known until the name of its discoverer was properly bestowed on it by its English owners. Sailing slowly up the river, and anchoring at night in the friendly harbors so plentifully scattered along his way, Hudson pursued his course towards the head of ship navigation, admiring the ever changing panorama of the beautiful river with its lofty palisades, its broad bays, its picturesque bends, its romantic highlands, and its rocky shores, covered with luxuriant forests. Everywhere he was greeted with a friendly reception. The river Indians, more gentle than those of the island of Manhattan, welcomed the strangers with offerings of the best that their land afforded, and urged them to remain with them. Fancying that the white men were afraid of their arrows, they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire. Game was killed for their use, hospitalities were urged upon them, and every attention which a rude but generous nature could prompt was offered to the strangers. Indeed, this seems in the beginning to have been the usual conduct of the natives, and it is probable that in their future hostilities, in nearly every instance, the whites were the aggressors.

On the 21st of September, Hudson reached the site of the present city of Albany, which, greatly to his disappointment, he found to be the head of ship navigation. To be sure of the fact, he dispatched the mate with a boat's crew to sound the river higher up, but, after proceeding eight or nine leagues, finding but seven feet

water, they were forced to return with the unwelcome intelligence. After remaining at anchor for several days, during which time he still continued to hold friendly intercourse with the natives, Hudson prepared to descend the river. His stay here was marked by a revel, the tradition of which is still preserved among the Indian legends, and the scene of which is laid by some historians upon the island of Manhattan. Various legends of a similar import concerning the introduction of the fatal "fire-water" are in existence among the different tribes of Indians; everywhere the same causes produced the same results, and the multiplicity of these traditions may easily be accounted for.

On the 23d of September, Hudson commenced to descend the river. He had ascended it in eleven days; he descended it in the same time, constantly receiving demonstrations of friendship from the natives of the neighboring shores. But unfortunately this harmony was soon destined to be broken. While anchored at Stony Point, an Indian was detected pilfering some goods through the cabin windows. The offender was instantly shot by the mate, and the frightened natives fled in consternation.

Nor was this the only rupture of peaceful relations with the hitherto friendly natives. Following the example of other discoverers, who were accustomed to carry to their own homes specimens of the natives of the new countries which they had visited, Hudson had seized and detained two Indians on board his ship at Sandy Hook; both of whom had escaped during his passage up the river, and were lying in wait for his return, to avenge

their captivity. Their narrative had enlisted the sympathies of their countrymen, and a large body gathered in their canoes at the head of Manhattan Island, and attempted to board the vessel. Repulsed in the attempt, they discharged a harmless flight of arrows at the yacht, which was returned by a musket shot, which killed two of their number. They scattered in dismay, only to gather again, reinforced by several hundreds, at Fort Washington; where they again attacked the vessel as she was floating down the stream. A few musket-shots soon put them again to flight, with the loss of nine of their warriors. This strange new weapon of the white men, speaking in tones of thunder, and belching forth fire and smoke, was more terrible to them than an army of invaders. They did not return to the attack, and Hudson pursued his way unmolested to the bay near Hoboken, where he anchored for the last time, and, lying windbound there for one day, set sail for Europe on the 4th of October, just one month after his arrival, to carry to his patrons the news of the discovery of a new country, and the opening of a new commerce. Though Verrazani was the first to behold the island of destiny, to Hudson belongs the credit of being its practical discoverer, and of opening the way to its future settlers.*

The directors of the East India Company were dissatisfied with the success of the enterprise. They had expected to find a short road to the land of silks and spices, and cared little for the rich lands and broad forests described by Hudson. Hudson proposed again to undertake the enterprise, and would probably

* The result, as we have shown, of disobedience to his instructions.

have done so, but, having landed at Dartmouth on his return homeward, he was forbidden to leave the country by the English authorities, who were jealous of the advantages which the Dutch had gained by his means. Untiring in his efforts to find the northwest passage, that *ignis fatuus* which has lured on so many intrepid navigators to their destruction, he sailed on another voyage of discovery in the service of his early English patrons in the spring of 1610, and, after passing a winter of suffering among the Arctic regions, perished, abandoned by his mutinous crew, amid the ice and snows of the bay which bears his name. The Half Moon, on her return to Holland, was dispatched on a trading voyage to the East Indies, during which she was wrecked and lost on the island of Mauritius.*

The voyage of the Half Moon to America, if it did not gain the exact thing desired, was at least suggestive of a new idea to the busy Dutch speculators. Though their most lucrative traffic was with the East Indies, they did not neglect the smaller mines from which money might be extracted, but maintained a flourishing commerce with the other European nations, especially with Russia. They dispatched nearly a hundred ships to Archangel every year, whence they carried on a lucrative traffic in furs with the interior of the country, subject to a duty of five per cent. on all goods exceeding an equal amount of importations. But Hudson's glowing accounts of the rich peltries which he had seen among the natives of the newly-discovered territory, suggested to the traders that it would be much cheaper to purchase them with knives and trinkets in a country where

* The account of Hudson's voyage was first published by Van Meteren, in 1611.

custom-houses and duties were unknown, than to buy them, as hitherto, at a high rate in Russia. Acting under the impulse of this idea, in 1610, a few merchants fitted out another vessel, and dispatched her under the command of the former mate of the Half Moon, to trade in furs with the Indians. The speculation proved eminently successful. Stimulated by their example, other merchants joined in the enterprise, and in 1612 dispatched the *Fortune* and the *Tiger*, under the command of Hendrick Christiaensen and Adriaen Block, on a trading voyage to the Mauritius River, as it was now called. The following year, three more vessels, under the command of Captains De Witt, Volckertsen, and Mey, were sent from Amsterdam and Hoorn to the same coast on the same errand.

The fur traffic might now be considered to have fairly commenced, and a new mine of wealth to be opened to Holland. It was determined to open a regular commerce with the new province, to make the island of Manhattan the chief depot of the fur trade in America, and to establish agents there to collect furs while the ships were going to and returning from Holland. Hendrick Christiaensen was appointed the first agent. He built a redoubt with four small houses on the site of the present 39 Broadway, and thus laid the foundation of the future city.

The navy was commenced about the same time. One of the vessels, the *Tiger*, commanded by Adriaen Block, was accidentally burned just as he was preparing to return to Holland. He immediately set about building another, the fine timber of the island furnishing him with ample materials, and in the spring of 1614, finished the first

vessel ever launched on the waters of Manhattan. This was a yacht of sixteen tons burden, and was called the *Restless*—a name truly prophetic of the future city. The building of the vessel occupied the whole winter, the friendly natives meanwhile supplying the strangers with food.

The little yacht completed, Block set about exploring the neighboring country. Passing through the Hellegat into the Long Island Sound, he discovered the Housatonic, and Connecticut, or Fresh River, as he named it, in contradistinction to the Hudson, the waters of which were salt, and ascended the latter to the head of navigation. Returning to the Sound, he again proceeded eastward to Montauk Point, which he christened "*Vischel's Hoeck*," and discovered Block Island, which still bears his name. Continuing his course to Narragansett, or Nassau Bay, he thoroughly explored its waters, discovered Roode or Red, since corrupted into Rhode Island, and coasted northward as far as Nahant Bay, exploring and naming the intervening bays and islands, which, however, had before been discovered and named by earlier English adventurers. On his return to Cape Cod, he encountered the *Fortune*, which had quitted Manhattan to return to Europe. The temptation was too strong to be resisted, the picture of home rose before his eyes, and leaving his little yacht, too frail to encounter the perils of the ocean voyage, in the charge of Cornelis Hendricksen, he embarked in the returning vessel to bear the news of his discoveries to Holland. He never returned to the scene of his early discoveries, but his name is one of the few relics of the early pioneers that

still remain to us. His comrades had not been idle in the meantime. Cornelissen Mey had explored the southern coast of Long Island, thus proving for the first time that it was an island, and had visited Delaware Bay and bestowed his name on its northern cape, while Hendrick Christiaensen had ascended the Mauritius, and built a little structure, half fort, half warehouse, armed with two large guns and a few swivels, and garrisoned by eleven men, on Castle Island, a little below Albany. This post he christened Fort Nassau in honor of the stadtholder.

It is affirmed by several historians that, soon after its foundation, the little settlement was visited by Captain Argall of Virginia on his return from his Acadian expedition, and that the Dutch traders were compelled by him to strike their flag and to acknowledge the supremacy of England. But this assertion seems unsupported by sufficient evidence. The earlier historians are silent in respect to it, nor do the state papers of either nation make mention of the fact. The story rests upon the authority of one or two printed English works, unsupported by documentary evidence, and cannot at least be affirmed with certainty ; the probability is that it is fictitious.

A few months previous to Block's return to Holland, the States General of the Netherlands, to encourage emigration, had passed an ordinance, granting to all discoverers of new countries the exclusive right of trading thither for four voyages. Unwilling to lose any part of the profitable commerce thus opened by their enterprise, the merchants who had fitted out the first expedition made a map of all the country between the Canadas and Virginia, and, claiming to be the original dis-

coverers thereof, petitioned the government for the promised monopoly. This was granted, and on the 11th of October, 1614, they received a charter, granting them the exclusive right of trade, to the territory lying between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, for four voyages within the period of three years; and forbidding all other persons to interfere with this monopoly, under penalty of confiscation of both vessels and cargoes, with a fine of fifty thousand Netherland ducats for the benefit of the grantees of the charter. In this instrument, the province first formally received the name of New Netherland.

The merchants now formed themselves into an association under the name of the "United New Netherland Company," and prepared to carry on their operations on a more extensive scale. Parties were sent to explore the interior, and to collect furs from the natives which were stored at the depots of Fort Nassau and Manhattan; and Jacob Eelkins, a shrewd and active trader, was appointed agent at the former, in the place of Hendrick Christiaensen, who had been murdered by one of the natives. This is the first murder on record in the province. The murderer, a young Indian, whom Christiaensen had carried to Holland on his first voyage, and who had ever since remained with him, met a speedy death from the hands of the settlers.

Yet the Dutch did not neglect to cultivate the friendship of the natives. The several tribes within the province of the New Netherland differed widely in character. The whole, indeed, claimed originally to have been one people, the Lenni Lenape, or "unbroken

nation ;” but few vestiges remained of the original brotherhood. The generic name of this people was Wapanachki ; the name “Indian” was an anomalous one, derived from the idea that North America formed part of the Indies. The Manhattan Indians were fierce and war-like, though they treated the traders kindly, and supplied them with food during the long, cold winters. The Mohicans on the east side of the river were peaceful and friendly, yet they were the deadly enemies of the Mincees, who dwelt on the other side ; and their war parties often crossed and recrossed the river on hostile expeditions. On the southern border of the province, along the Delaware River, were the Lenape or Delawares. To the north of these, were the Mengwes or Iroquois, the most dreaded and powerful of all the Indian tribes. These held acknowledged supremacy over all the other tribes. Their hunting-grounds stretched across the entire province, and their wigwams opened at the east on the Hudson River, and at the west on Lake Erie. But they had not gained this ascendancy without a struggle. Weak in the beginning, they had learned to comprehend that union is strength ; and the five tribes which originally occupied this vast extent of territory—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, had leagued themselves together in a firm union under the name of Iroquois, or the Five Nations. Later, the Tuscaroras were admitted into the confederacy, and the Five Nations were thus increased to six. Strengthened by this alliance, and fierce and despotic by nature, they soon subjugated their gentler brethren, and forced them to lay aside their weapons and to assume

the name of "women," trusting their defence entirely to them. They sent their old men into the villages to collect tribute from the river Indians, and there was not one among them who dared refuse it. A single Iroquois would put a hundred Mohicans or Mincees to flight, so great was the terror inspired by them. But this sovereignty did not extend to the Hurons or Canada Indians, who were as formidable as they, and their constant and deadly foes. The French in the Canadas leagued with the latter, and taught them the use of firearms ; and seeing themselves threatened with extermination by this new and wonderful weapon, the Iroquois hailed the arrival of white men in their own country with delight, as the only means which could save them from being subjugated in turn, and forced to take their place with the Mohicans and Mincees. The Dutch, on their side, were quite as ready for the alliance. The country of the Iroquois abounded in rich furs which could only be obtained through the friendship of the natives. Their fort at the head of the river was on the land of the Iroquois, and, without their alliance, they could not secure its safety. In the spring of 1617, a solemn council of both nations was held in a place called Tawasentha, near the site of the present city of Albany. Each tribe of the Iroquois sent a chief to the meeting, and a delegation was also present from the river tribes. A formal treaty of peace and alliance between the Dutch and the Iroquois was concluded, and the other tribes renewed their acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Five Nations. The pipe of peace was smoked, and the hatchet buried in the earth ; and the Dutch declared

that they would build a church over the spot, so that none could dig it up without overthrowing the sacred structure, and thus incurring the wrath of the Great Spirit and the vengeance of the white men. Well indeed would it have been for them, could it always have thus remained buried.



The Council at Tawasentha, in 1617.

This treaty insured the prosperity of the traders. Sure of the friendship of the natives, they fearlessly sent their agents among them to obtain their costly furs in exchange for the muskets and ammunition they so much coveted. It was not long before the Indian became more skillful than his master in the use of the deadly weapon, and grew in turn to be the terror of the white man. The agents explored the interior, bringing back stores of valuable furs, and the trade became so profitable that when, in 1618, the charter of the United New Netherland Company expired by its own limitation, they petitioned the government to grant them a renewal. This they failed to obtain, though they were permitted to continue their trade under a special license two or three years longer.

Hitherto the Dutch had looked on Manhattan only as a trading-post. They did not think of making themselves homes in this new, wild country, but dwelt in temporary huts of the rudest construction, which scarcely protected them from the cold. But the English were exploring the coast, and laying claim to all the country between Canada and Virginia, and the Dutch began to realize the importance of planting colonies in the new province, and thus securing their American possessions.

About this time, too, the little settlement received a visit of threatening import. In 1620, Captain Thomas Dermer, an Englishman in the service of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, touched at Manhattan on his way to New England, and warned the traders not to continue on English territory; to which they replied that it belonged to them

of right, as the first discoverers and occupiers. Upon this, Dermer, Gorges, Argall and others, petitioned James I. for a grant of the province of New Netherland, protesting that it was wrongfully occupied by the Dutch, and claiming for Dermer the discovery of Long Island Sound and the adjacent country. That he was the first Englishman who had ever sailed through the Sound is probable: yet Block, Christiaensen and others had preceded him. He is one of the few who makes mention of the prior visit of Argall to Manhattan—an interested witness, since this pretext served to strengthen his claim to the possession of the territory. The king, however, listened to their prayer; a royal charter conferring the exclusive jurisdiction of all territories in America between the parallels of forty and forty-eight degrees was granted to Gorges and his associates, and the English ambassador at the Hague was directed to remonstrate with the States General against the occupation by the Dutch of English territory. But little attention was paid to this remonstrance, and the Dutch went on in their work of colonizing New Netherland.

There was little freedom of thought at this time in England. The people were divided into two great religious sects, the Episcopalians, and the Puritans. The latter, by their stern denunciation of the rites and ceremonies of the Episcopalian Church, the established Church of England, their refusal to conform to the statutes of the realm, and their almost fanatical opposition to everything that savored of prayer-book or ritual, had drawn upon themselves the displeasure of the government. Disapprobation soon grew into persecu-

tion. The Puritans sternly refused to yield a single point of their obnoxious doctrines, while the government daily increased in rigor. Weary of the contest, a number of the persecuted nonconformists fled, with their minister, John Robinson, to Holland, where they found the fullest toleration. Settling at Leyden, they organized a congregation, and enjoyed the religious freedom which they had failed to obtain in their native land. Yet here they felt like strangers. The manners and customs were foreign to them ; the language was strange and the government unlike their own, and their children were growing up in the speech and habits of the new country and forgetting their mother-tongue. They were English and they feared to become Dutch. The New World offered a tempting home to them in which they could enjoy both civil and religious liberty, and train up their offspring in their own faith and language. It was at first proposed to settle at Guiana, but this scheme was finally abandoned. Hearing of the glowing accounts of the province of New Netherland, Robinson entreated permission of the Dutch to settle there, promising to take with him four hundred families if the government would pledge itself to protect him against all other powers. The offer pleased the merchants, who would gladly have transported them thither free of cost, and have furnished them with cattle and agricultural implements to aid them in establishing the much-needed colony. But the States General had other plans in view. They wished to organize an armed military force that could assist them in the war which they were then carrying on with Spain ; and besides, they thought it better policy to peo-

ple the province with their own countrymen. They, therefore, refused the prayer of the Puritans ; and on the 3d of June, 1621, granted a charter to the " West India Company," conferring on them for a period of twenty-one years, the exclusive jurisdiction over the province of New Netherland. The powers thus conferred upon this new association were as extensive as those enjoyed by the East India Company. The exclusive right of trade in the Atlantic, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope on the eastern, and from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan on the western continent was granted them. Their power over this immense territory was almost unlimited. They could make contracts with the native princes, build forts, administer justice, and appoint governors and public officers, the appointment of the former to be subject to the approval of the States General, to whom they were required to take oaths of allegiance. In return, the Company pledged themselves to colonize the new territories, and to keep the States General informed from time to time of their plan of operations. The government of the association was vested in five separate chambers of managers, established in five principal Dutch cities : one at Amsterdam, one at Middleburg, one at Dordrecht, one in North Holland, and one in Friesland and Groningen. The details of its management were intrusted to a board of directors, nineteen in number, one of whom was appointed by the States General, the others by the respective chambers, in proportion to their relative importance. Full executive powers, with the exception of a declaration of war, for which the consent of the States

General was necessary, was conferred on this board of directors, commonly called the Assembly of Nineteen. The States General, on their part, promised to protect the Company from all interference, to give them a million of guilders, and to supply them with ships and men in case of war. The Puritans, meanwhile, repulsed on this side, had made their way to Plymouth Rock, and planted their faith on the shores of New England.

The West India Company set about the work of colonizing the new province with vigor. In 1623, the Amsterdam Chamber, to whose especial care the province had been intrusted, fitted out the *New Netherland*, a ship of two hundred and sixty tons burden, and dispatched it, with thirty families, to the territory whose name it bore, for the purpose of founding a colony. The expedition was placed under the command of Cornelissen Jacobsen Mey, who was also appointed First Director of the province. Most of these new colonists were Walloons, or French Protestants, from the confines of France and Belgium, who had obtained from the Dutch what they had vainly sought from the English, permission to make themselves homes in the New World. These were, properly speaking, the earliest colonists of the province, the Dutch, who had previously emigrated hither, having been mere traders and temporary sojourners. The new comers scattered themselves over the country. Eight remained at Manhattan. Four couples, who had been married during the voyage, together with eight seamen, were sent to South River, where they founded a settlement on the Jersey shore, near Gloucester. The Walloons, headed by George Jansen de Rapelje, settled on Long Island.

at the Waal-bogt, or Walloon's Bay, where Sarah de Rapelje, the first child of European parentage in the province, was born, in 1625.* A few of the colonists were dispatched by the governor to the Fresh, or Connecticut River, and the rest proceeded with him up the Mauritius River, where they built Fort Orange, on the west shore, about four miles above Fort Nassau, and vigorously commenced the work of clearing the wilderness. The New Netherland returned to Holland under the command of Adriaen Joris, the second in command of the expedition, with a cargo of furs, valued at twelve thousand dollars.

In 1625, three ships and a yacht, bringing a number of families, with their furniture, farming implements, and a hundred and three head of cattle, arrived at Manhattan. Fearing lest the cattle might stray away into the forests, the settlers landed them on Nutten's, now Governor's Island, until further provision could be made for them; but finding the island destitute of water, they were compelled at once to carry them in boats to Manhattan. Two more vessels soon arrived, and the colony now numbered some two hundred persons.

A nucleus was now formed from which to form a permanent settlement. Hitherto the form of government had been simple and the settlers transient, but affairs were now assuming a more settled aspect. In 1624, Mey returned to Holland, and was succeeded in the directorship by William Verhulst. At the end of a year, he, too, was recalled, and Peter Minuit was appointed Director-

* Recent investigations tend to confirm the theory that Sarah de Rapelje was born at Albany, where her parents appear to have resided about the period of her birth, instead of at the Waal-bogt, as has been supposed.

General of New Netherland ; with instructions from the Company to organize a provincial government. In this government, the supreme authority, executive, legislative, and judicial, was vested in the Director and Council, with full power to administer justice, except in capital cases ; in which, the offender, on being convicted, must be sent with his sentence to Holland. Next to these came the Koopman, who performed the double duty of Secretary of the province, and book-keeper of the Company's warehouse. Subordinate to this functionary, was the Schout Fiscal, a sort of civil factotum, half sheriff and half attorney-general, the executive officer of the Director and Council, and general custom-house officer. At the same time, the first seal was granted to the province of New Netherland.* Minuit's council consisted of Peter Byvelt, Jacob Elbertsen Wis-sinck, Jan Janssen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos, and Reynert Harmenssen. Isaac de Rasières, the first Koopman, was succeeded two years afterwards by Jan Van Remund ; Jan Lampo acted as Schout Fiscal.



Seal of New Amsterdam. 1654.
(Described on p. 139.)

On the 4th of May, 1626, Peter Minuit, the new Director, arrived at Manhattan in the ship *Sea Mew*, commanded by Adriaen Joris. To his credit be it said, the first act of his administration was to secure possession of Manhattan by lawful purchase. Soon after his arrival he bought the whole island of the Indians for the Dutch West India Company for the sum of sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. The island was fifteen miles in

* For engraving of the seal, see p. 140.

length, and from about a quarter of a mile to two miles in breadth, and was estimated to contain twenty-two thousand acres.

Having thus become the lawful owners of the territory, the first care of the colonists was to provide for their personal safety. The English were constantly prowling about their coasts and threatening their destruction, and they knew that they were not secure in the neighborhood of the fierce Manhattans. A fort was at once staked out by their engineer, Kryn Frederycke, on the triangle which formed the southern part of the island, and which seemed chosen by nature herself for the purpose. This fort, which was a mere block-house, surrounded by cedar palisades, received the imposing name of Fort Amsterdam, and was completed in the course of the following year. A horse mill was also erected, with a large room on the second floor for religious services, and a stone building, thatched with reeds, was built for the Company's warehouse. Some thirty rude huts along the shores of the East River made up the balance of the settlement. Neither clergyman nor school-master was as yet known in the colony, but two visitors of the sick, Sebastian Jansen Krol and Jan Huyck by name, were appointed, whose duty it was to read the Scriptures and the creeds to the people on Sundays. Every settler had his own house, kept his cows, tilled his land, or traded with the natives—no one was idle. The settlement thrived, and the exports of furs during this year amounted to nineteen thousand dollars.

Minuit now determined to open a friendly correspondence with his eastern neighbors, and on the 9th of

March, 1727, Isaac de Rasières, the secretary of the province, addressed an amicable letter by his order to Governor Bradford at Plymouth, congratulating him on the prosperity of his colony, and expressing a hope that pleasant relations might continue to exist between them. This letter was the first communication between the Dutch and the Yankees. Bradford replied in the same friendly tone, though he took care to throw out a few hints on the questionable propriety of Dutch trade within the limits of New England. Alarmed by this claim, Minuit answered a few weeks after, vindicating the right of the States General to the territory of New Netherland. The matter rested thus until three months after, when another letter was received from Bradford, apologizing for the long delay, and requesting that the Dutch would send a commissioner to discuss the boundary question in an amicable manner. The suggestion was complied with, and Isaac de Rasières dispatched on the errand, which amounted to little more than an interchange of civilities between the two powers.

Ere long, seeds of trouble were sown, which ripened into a harvest of horror and misery.

A Weckquaesgeek Indian, who had come down with his nephew from West Chester to sell furs to the settlers, was attacked near the Fresh Water Pond by three of Minuit's farm servants, who robbed and murdered him. His nephew, a mere boy, escaped, vowing vengeance on his uncle's murderers. It is but justice to the authorities to say that they were ignorant of this deed of horror, which in after years was visited so terribly upon the whole colony. Revenge is an Indian's virtue, and th

young savage grew up to manhood, cherishing his terrible oath, and swearing to wash out his uncle's murder in the blood of the white men.

In the meantime, the colony was increasing slowly, not so much by new arrivals as by the accession of the settlers from Forts Nassau and Orange, and the settlements at the South River, who, attacked by the Indians and tiring of their lonely position, had deemed it advisable to remove to Manhattan. Six farms, called "Bouwerys," were reserved as the private property of the Company, four of which stretched along the east shore, the other two lying on the western side of the island, and extending to Greenwich. The inhabitants now numbered two hundred and seventy. But the settlement was expensive, and the Company, who were anxious to settle the country, determined to induce individual members of their body to establish settlements at their own risk. To effect this, in 1629, an act was proposed by the Assembly of Nineteen and ratified by the States General, granting to any member of the West India Company who should found a colony of fifty persons, upward of fifteen years of age, within four years after notice of his intention, the title of Patroon, with the privilege of selecting a tract of land sixteen miles on one side or eight miles on both sides of a navigable river, and extending as far inland as they chose, anywhere within the limits of the province except on the island of Manhattan. This, the Company reserved to themselves, together with the exclusive right to the fur-trade, and a duty of five per cent on all trade carried on by the patroons. The patroons were required to satisfy

the Indians for the land, and to maintain a minister and schoolmaster ; and the Company promised to strengthen the fort at Manhattan, to protect the colonists against all attacks both from the English and the natives, and to supply them with a sufficient number of negro-servants for an indefinite length of time. This was the first introduction of slavery into the province of New Netherland. Those settlers who emigrated at their own expense were to have as much ground as they could cultivate, and to be exempt from taxes for ten years ; in no case, however, either on the territory of the patroons or the Company, were they permitted a voice in the government. They were also forbidden to make any woollen, linen, or cotton cloth, or to weave any other stuffs, under penalty of punishment and exile. These and similar arbitrary restrictions sowed the seed of that discontent which agitated the people for so many years, and finally culminated in open rebellion.

These patroons were petty sovereigns in their own right—feudal lords of the soil—possessing complete jurisdiction over their tenants, who were forbidden to leave their service for a stipulated time. They also had authority to appoint local officers in all cities which they might establish, and were endowed with manorial privileges of hunting, fishing and fowling on all lands within their domain. This tempting offer at once excited the cupidity and love of power of the merchants of the West India Company, and no sooner was the act passed than a number hastened to comply with its requirements. Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, both of whom were directors of the West India Company, dispatched

agents to New Netherland, who purchased of the Indians two tracts of land ; the one extending from Cape Henlopen thirty-two miles up the west shore of Delaware Bay ; and the other, a piece of land sixteen miles square on the opposite shore, including Cape May, to which they gave the name of Swaanendael. Soon after, the agents of Killian Van Rensselaer, another director of the Company, purchased in his name the lands above and below Fort Orange, including the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer, to which they gave the name of Rensselaerswyck. Another director, Michael Pauw, appropriated a tract of land on the Jersey shore opposite to Manhattan, including Paulus Hook, Hoboken, and the adjacent country, to which he gave the name of Pavonia. To this purchase he soon after added that of Staten Island.

This wholesale appropriation of the province excited the jealousy of the other directors. Loud murmurs of discontent arose among the Company, and the grasping patroons were forced to admit their colleagues to share in their domains. Companies were formed for the proposed scheme of colonization, and David Pietersen de Vries, who had become one of the patroons of Swaanendael in the new arrangement, proceeded thither with a colony of thirty persons, which he established at Hoarkill near the present site of Lewiston. Colonies were also established about the same time at Rensselaerswyck and Pavonia.

The settlement at Fort Amsterdam, meanwhile, continued to flourish. Not only was it the chief depot of the fur trade, but also of the coast trade of the patroons, who were obliged to bring thither all their cargoes. In 1629 and 1630, the imports from Amsterdam amounted

to one hundred and thirteen thousand guilders, while the exports from Manhattan exceeded one hundred and thirty thousand. The people were turning their attention to ship-building, in humble imitation of the Fatherland, and at this early date, New Amsterdam was the commercial metropolis of America. It fairly won the title in 1631 by the construction of the *New Netherland*, a ship of eight hundred tons, which was built at Manhattan and dispatched to Holland. This was an important event in the ship-building annals of the times, for the *New Netherland* was one of the largest merchant vessels in the world. But the experiment was a costly one, and was not soon repeated. The land about the fort was fast being brought under cultivation, and, under the management of the industrious Walloons, a thriving settlement was springing up on the Brooklyn shore, and gradually extending back upon Long Island. Emigrants of all nations were beginning to flock into the province, allured by the liberal offers of the Company, who transported them thither in their own ships at the cheap rate of twelve and a half cents a day for provisions and passage, and gave them as much land as they could cultivate on their arrival. Unlike the policy of the Colony of Massachusetts, the fullest religious toleration was granted in the province, and this attracted many victims of the persecution which was raging so fiercely in Europe. Walloons, Huguenots, Calvinists, Friends and Catholics, all found a home here, and laid the foundation of that cosmopolitan character which the city has since so well sustained.

Yet the colony was chiefly of the Dutch type. The

simple and frugal settlers had imported the manners and customs of Holland along with its houses and furniture, and these for many years imparted a marked individuality to the growing city. To the north and south, the settlements were essentially English ; for a long time, New Amsterdam and its successor, New York, remained essentially Dutch. Yet these Holland manners and customs were becoming greatly modified by the exigencies of the new country. The settlers were gradually adopting something of the mode of life of their savage allies ; already had they learned to relish the Indian luxuries of succotash and hominy, and to welcome to their tables the game, shell-fish, fruits and berries which the island afforded in such profusion ; nor did the tobacco find less favor among them. The wampum had come to be a common currency in the settlement. Much of the Indian life was already clinging to them ; though in thought and feeling they still belonged to the Old World, and looked fondly back to Holland as their true fatherland.

At this juncture, a heavy calamity fell upon the infant colony which had been planted by De Vries at Swaanendael. According to custom, a tin plate, bearing the arms of Holland, had been affixed to a tree, in token of the sovereignty of the nation. Attracted by the glitter of the metal, and thinking no harm, a chief took it down to make it into tobacco pipes. This proceeding, Hossett, who had charge of the place, imprudently resented as an insult, and the natives, to appease him, slew the offender and brought him his right hand as a token of a vengeance of which the Dutch commander had never dreamed. But it was now too late. A few days after,

the friends of the murdered chieftain fell upon the settlers as they were at work in the fields, slew them without mercy, burned the fort and laid waste the whole settlement. Thirty-two colonists were massacred in cold blood—not one escaped to tell the tale. It was from the Indian chiefs themselves that De Vries heard the details of the horrible catastrophe on his arrival. The colony at Rensselaerswyck meanwhile continued to prosper.

The directors of the West India Company had hoped, by the aid of the patroons, to succeed in colonizing the country, and, at the same time, to retain the rich monopoly of the fur trade in their own hands. In this they met with serious opposition. The patroons, who had grown powerful through their extensive privileges, interfered with the traffic to such an extent that the directors resolved to limit their authority and to break their power. This procedure excited almost a civil war in the Company. By the provisions of the charter, the patroons were obliged also to be members of the association, and the Company was thus divided against itself. A warm dispute arose, and in 1632, Peter Minuit, who was suspected of favoring the pretensions of the patroons, was recalled from the directorship, although no successor was appointed for more than a year. At the same time, Jan Lampo, the schout fiscal, was superseded by Conrad Notelman, who had brought the letters of recall. Minuit at once resigned the government into the hands of the council, and embarked for Holland in the ship *Eendragt*, which had brought the news of his dismissal, accompanied by the ex-schout and several families of returning colonists. The *Eendragt* also car-

ried with her a cargo of five thousand beaver skins—a token of the growing prosperity of the colony.

On her return, the ship was forced by stress of weather into the harbor of Plymouth, where she was detained by the authorities as an illegal trafficker in English monopolies. Minuit instantly dispatched news of this proceeding to the Company, and also to the Dutch ambassadors at London, who remonstrated with the English government. The arrest of the Dutch trader led to a correspondence between the two countries, in which the claims of the rival powers were distinctly set forth. These claims, which formed the basis of continual agitations as long as the province remained in the hands of its Dutch proprietors, are too important in their connection with the history as well of the city as of the whole country, not to find a place here.

The Dutch claimed the proprietorship of the province on the grounds of its discovery by their nation in 1609 ; of the return of their people in 1610 ; of the grant of a trading charter in 1614 ; of the maintenance of a fort and garrison until the organization of the West India Company in 1621 ; of the failure of the English to occupy the territory ; and of the purchase of the land from its original owners, the natives. The English, on the other hand, laid claim to it on the ground of the prior discovery of Cabot, and declared it to be the property of the Plymouth Company, by virtue of a patent granted by James I., its lawful sovereign. As to the purchase of the land from the natives, they alleged that the wandering and communistic Indians, not being the *bonâ fide* possessors of the land, had no right to dispose of it, and

therefore, that all Indian titles must be invalid—a theory which they had certainly done their best to reduce to practice. They offered to permit the Dutch to remain in New Netherland, provided they would swear allegiance to the English government; otherwise they were threatened with instant extirpation. But civil war was now on the eve of breaking out in England, and the authorities were ill prepared to put their threat into execution. Contenting themselves with this assumption of sovereignty, they released the Eendragt, and reserved the accomplishment of their designs for a more convenient season.

CHAPTER II.

1633—1642.

New Amsterdam in the Days of Wouter Van Twiller—English Difficulties—Winne-
Kieft.

DURING the interregnum which succeeded the departure of Minuit, the government was administered by the council, headed by Koopman Van Remund, the successor of Isaac de Rasières. In April, 1633, the ship *Soutberg* arrived at Manhattan, bringing Wouter Van Twiller, the new director-general, with a military force of a hundred and four soldiers, and a Spanish caraval which she had captured on the way. Among the passengers came also Everardus Bogardus and Adam Roelandsen, the first clergyman* and schoolmaster of New Amsterdam.

* The reader is referred to the archives of the Historical Society for a curious letter, transmitted thereto by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, ex-United States Minister at the Hague, bearing date the 11th of August, 1628, and purporting to have been addressed by Jonas Michaëlius, first Minister of the Church of New Amsterdam, to Domine Adrianus Smoutius, Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Amsterdam. This letter, of the authenticity of which Mr. Murphy expresses himself strongly persuaded, was found among the papers of Jacobus Koning, clerk of the fourth judicial district of Amsterdam, and communicated to the Kerk-historisch Archief by J. J. Bodel Nijenhuis, Esq. Of its previous history, nothing whatever is known. In the records of the Classis of Amsterdam of a later date, Domine Michaëlius is mentioned as the late minister of Virginia; and the fact that the Dutch

A weaker, more vacillating or thoroughly incompetent governor could hardly have been selected than Wouter Van Twiller. He had married the niece of the wealthy patroon, Killian Van Rensselaer, and it was probably in consequence of this connection that he had succeeded in obtaining this important post. He had been employed as a clerk in the Company's warehouse, and had done them good service in this capacity ; but knowing nothing at all of the science of government, and ignorant of everything except of money-making, he soon became ridiculous in his new position.

Immediately upon his arrival, Van Twiller assumed the direction of affairs, and organized his council. This council consisted of Jacob Jansen Hesse, Martin Gerritsen, Andries Hudde, and Jacques Bentyn. Cornelius Van Tienhoven was made book-keeper of the Company,

language was unknown in Virginia proper, coupled with the general custom of bestowing this appellation indiscriminately upon all portions of the western world, affords strong presumptive proof of the genuineness of the letter. If it be really authentic, it is, with the exception of Isaac de Rasières' letters to Governor Bradford and to Mr. Blommaert of Amsterdam, the only letter now extant written by the pioneers of New Amsterdam. The history of Michaëlius is full of adventure. Born in 1577 in North Holland and educated at the University of Leyden, he settled in 1614 at Nieuwbokswouden, whence he, two years afterwards, removed to Havre. On the capture of St. Salvador by the Dutch in 1624, he was dispatched thither to preside over the church of the victors. The next year, the island fell again into the hands of the Portuguese, and Michaëlius, abandoning his charge, set out on a missionary expedition to Guinea. In 1627, he returned to Holland, and soon after, if we may rely on this letter, made his way to New Amsterdam, to enact the part of the religious pioneer which historians have hitherto agreed in assigning to Bogardus. He probably did not remain long in the province. The next trace of him appears in 1637 or 38, when it was proposed by the Classis to send him again to New Amsterdam ; but the request was refused by the West India Company, probably on account of his advanced age. The letter in question is quaint and curious, and gives a graphic picture of the primitive life of the early settlers.

and Notelman and Van Remund retained their offices of schout and koopman. The council organized, he turned his attention at once to public improvements. The Company had authorized him to fortify the depots of the fur-trade, and he was not slow in obeying their instructions. The fort which had been commenced in 1626 and never completed, and which was now in a ruinous condition, was rebuilt, and a guard-house and barracks erected at a heavy cost for the newly arrived soldiers. Having a minister, a church now became indispensable. The loft in the horse-mill in which prayers had been read for the last seven years was abandoned, and a wooden church or rather barn was erected, on the shore of the East River, in Pearl between Whitehall and Broad streets ; near to which was also constructed a parsonage and stable for "the domine." By this appellation, the ministers of the Dutch churches long continued to be known ; the name is even now in vogue in some of the western settlements of Long Island. A graveyard was also laid out on the west side of Broadway, above the present Morris street. Three windmills were built in the vicinity of the fort ; so near it, indeed, that the buildings within the walls often intercepted the wind and rendered them useless. Several brick and stone buildings for the use of the director and his officers were built within the walls of the fort. Van Twiller also caused a dwelling-house, barn, brewery, boat-house and other out-buildings to be built on Farm No. 1. of the Company, extending from Wall street, northward to Hudson street, where he himself took up his abode. The farm No 3, at Greenwich, he appropriated as his tobacco

plantation. Houses were built for the corporal, the smith, the cooper and the midwife, and several costly dwellings were also erected at Pavonia and at Forts Nassau and Orange, all of which were constructed at the expense of the Company.

About this time, the commercial importance of New Amsterdam was increased by the grant of "staple right;" a sort of feudal privilege, having its basis in the institutions of the Fatherland. By this grant, all vessels trading along the coast, or passing up and down the rivers, were obliged either to discharge their cargoes at the port, or to pay certain duties in lieu thereof. This right was valuable, for it gave to the colony the commercial monopoly of the whole province.

In the person of Domine Bogardus, Van Twiller had brought with him an unruly subject. Scarcely had he commenced his administration, when the latter began to rebuke him for his conduct in public affairs. Van Twiller angrily resented the interference, whereupon Bogardus anathematized him from the pulpit as a child of the devil, and so incensed the governor that he refused ever to enter the church-doors again. The people naturally took sides in the quarrel, and the contest between governor and domine continued to the end of the administration. In the records of the year 1638, we read that "for slandering the Rev. E. Bogardus, a woman was obliged to appear at the sound of a bell in the fort before the governor and council, and to say that she knew that he was honest and pious, and that she lied falsely." However this may be, it is certain that Bogardus was rude and imperious, and that many charges

were brought against him which were never sufficiently refuted.

A short time before the arrival of Van Twiller, De Vries returned with the mammoth ship *New Netherland* and a yacht, to visit his little colony of *Swaanendael*. Mournful, indeed, was the scene that met his eyes. Where he had left a flourishing settlement, there was naught to be seen but blackened ruins, charred trees, and the mouldering bones of the unhappy colonists. De Vries sickened at the sight; but prudently concealing his sorrow and anger, he summoned the Indians, gleaned from them an account of the terrible disaster, then, instead of wreaking on them the vengeance they had expected, dismissed them with presents to meditate on the mercy of the white men. Such a vengeance would have been the signal for the destruction of every white man within the province. This De Vries well knew; and after contracting this necessary but detested alliance, he sailed to Virginia, and opened a friendly intercourse with the governor, Sir John Harvey, who assured him that the Dutch had nothing to fear from that side, but warned them to beware of their Plymouth neighbors. On parting, the friendly governor sent several goats as a present to the director at Fort Amsterdam, by whom they were gladly received, there being as yet none in the colony.

Soon after the arrival of Van Twiller, the *William*, an English ship, arrived at Manhattan, with Jacob Eelkins, the former agent at Fort Orange, who had been dismissed by the Company in 1632, as supercargo. Irritated by his dismissal, Eelkins had gone over to the service of the

English, and had now come in the interests of his new employers to trade in furs with the Indians of the Mauritius River. This was contrary to the policy of the West India Company ; and Van Twiller, who, though a bad governor, was a good merchant, understanding the value of the monopoly of the fur trade, refused to permit the vessel to proceed on its way, and demanded Eelkins' commission. This Eelkins refused to produce, declaring that he was on British territory, discovered by an Englishman, and that he would go up the river if it cost him his life. The governor forbade him in the name of the Dutch government, and ordered the flag to be hoisted at Fort Amsterdam, and three guns to be fired in honor of the Prince of Orange. In return for this display, Eelkins run up the English flag by way of bravado, and ordered a salute to be fired in honor of King Charles ; then coolly sailed up the river in defiance of the guns of Fort Amsterdam, leaving the astonished governor to meditate on his audacity at his leisure.

Thunderstruck at such an act of daring, Van Twiller summoned all the people together in the square before the fort, now the Bowling Green, then ordering a cask of wine and another of beer to be brought, he filled a glass, and called on all good citizens who loved the Prince of Orange to do the same, and to drink confusion to the English Government. The citizens were not slow in obeying the command ; and, indeed, this was all that they could do, for the ship was now far beyond the guns of the fort, and safely pursuing her journey up the river. But they were deeply mortified at the governor's pusillanimity, and De Vries openly taxed him with cowardice, and told him that if it

had been his case, he should have sent some eight-pound beans after the saucy Englishman and helped him down again, but as it was now too late for that, he should certainly send the Soutberg after him and drive him down the river. After meditating on this counsel for a few days, the vacillating Van Twiller resolved to follow it, and dispatched an armed force to Fort Orange, where



Wrath of Van Twiller.

Eelkins had pitched a tent on the shore, and was busily engaged in trading with the natives. This tent the soldiers speedily demolished, and, reshipping his goods, brought his vessel back to Fort Amsterdam, where he was required to give up his peltries, and was sent to sea with a warning never more to interfere with the trade of the Dutch government.

It was not long before Van Twiller, who always acted promptly on inopportune occasions, attempted to vindicate his statesmanship at De Vries' expense. The latter wished to send his yacht through Hellegat to trade along the coasts, a privilege to which he was entitled as a patroon; but the governor refused his consent, and ordering the guns of the fort to be turned on the receding vessel, commanded her to stop and unload directly. "The land is full of fools!" exclaimed the exasperated De Vries, running to the Battery point where stood the governor with some of his council, "if you want to shoot, why didn't you shoot the Englishman when he sailed up the river?" The governor dared not give the order to fire, and the yacht passed on, and was soon winding her way through the tortuous channels of the Hellegat.

Although, in the general appropriation of patroonships, no claim had been made on the country about the Connecticut River, and the few settlers who had gone thither had soon returned with their families to Manhattan, the Dutch had constantly kept up a brisk trade with the Indians, and as constantly asserted their right to the territory. In the meantime, a grant of the same territory had been made to Lord Warwick by the English

government; and Van Twiller, taking alarm at the movements of the English, determined to forestall them by securing its possession. During the summer preceding the arrival of Van Twiller, a small tract of land at the mouth of the Connecticut River had been purchased of the Indians, and the arms of the States General affixed to a tree. Immediately after his arrival, the governor dispatched Jacob Van Corlaer with six other agents thither, who purchased a tract of land of the Pequods near the site of the present city of Hartford, and built a redoubt upon it, which they fortified with two cannon and named Fort Good Hope.

Hearing of this encroachment, the people of Plymouth applied to the Massachusetts colony to aid them in driving off the Dutch intruders. But, deeming the country almost valueless on account of the difficulty of entering the river and the hostility of the Indian tribes in the vicinity, the latter declined, although Governor Winthrop dispatched a letter to Van Twiller, remonstrating with him for encroaching upon English territory. To this Van Twiller returned a courteous reply, proposing that the matter should be referred to their respective governments, and hoping "that two great powers might not fall into contention about a little part or portion of these heathenish countries." The Plymouth colonists, however, resolved on more decisive measures, and purchasing a small tract of land of the Indians, just above Fort Good Hope, dispatched Lieutenant William Holmes thither with a picked company of men and the frame of a small house to found an English settlement. As they neared the Dutch post, they were hailed by Van Corlaer,

who threatened to fire if they proceeded. "Fire!" was the reply, "we are following the commands of the governor of Plymouth, and, living or dead, we must obey his orders." The true follower of Van Twiller, Van Corlaer dared not fire, and Holmes ascended the river a mile and a half higher, set up his house, and founded the settlement of Windsor. Van Twiller, on hearing of these proceedings, served a written protest on the intruders, and soon after sent seventy soldiers to dislodge them. But they stood on their defence, and the Dutch commander withdrew without attempting their expulsion.

In the meantime, De Vries had returned to Holland, contending to the last with Van Twiller, who vainly endeavored to detain him and to wring from him a tribute in the shape of taxes and duties. Soon after, he withdrew from his partnership in the patroonship of Swaanendael, which was bought up by the Company for the sum of fifteen thousand six hundred guilders, or six thousand two hundred and forty dollars. About the same time, Notelman, the schout fiscal, who had been convicted of dishonesty in the performance of his duties, was superseded by Lubbertus Van Dinklagen.

Trouble broke out in a new quarter. A party of Englishmen from Point Comfort, headed by George Holmes, took possession of the deserted trading-post of Fort Nassau. For once, Van Twiller seems to have acted with promptness. He at once dispatched an armed force to South River, who dislodged the intruders and brought them back as prisoners to Fort Amsterdam. Just at this juncture, De Vries arrived from Holland, on his way to Virginia. Van Twiller, at a loss how to dis-

pose of his prisoners, begged him to wait for a few days ; the unlucky Englishmen were embarked on board his vessel, and landed two days afterwards at Point Comfort, just in time to prevent a party of their countrymen from setting out to rejoin them. This timely action ended the proposed invasion, and secured to the Dutch for the time being the undisputed possession of the South River.

Not equally fortunate were they on the Connecticut. In 1634, a company of emigrants from Massachusetts founded a settlement at Wethersfield ; while another party established themselves near the mouth of the river, tearing down the arms of the States General which had been affixed there three years before, and treating them with contemptuous derision. To this latter settlement they gave the name of Saybrook. Van Twiller, finding protests unavailing, dispatched a sloop to dislodge them, which was driven off by the English without being suffered to land. At a loss how to act, the governor dispatched an account of the proceedings to his superiors, and waited for further instructions. In the meantime, the English occupied Springfield, thus gaining almost exclusive possession of the territory of the Fresh River.

About the same time, some incidents less serious and more ludicrous occurred at Fort Amsterdam, which have been caught up by the witty historian of the Knickerbocker times, and converted into a choice bit of satire on the unlucky governor. Finding that Virginia was not a good place for the Dutch to trade at, De Vries, after landing his prisoners, returned to Fort Amsterdam, which he reached about two o'clock in

the morning. The whole city was asleep. Not a sentinel appeared on the walls, no challenge was given, and no one was conscious of the arrival of the vessel. At daybreak he fired a salute of three guns. The frightened citizens sprang from their beds and seized their arms, the startled soldiers ran to their guns, and the governor fancied that the English were in possession of the city. A few minutes explained the mistake; the people laughed at their terror, and De Vries was heartily welcomed back again. His vessel leaking badly, she was hauled up into the "Smit's Vly," a morass lying outside of Pearl street between Pine and Fulton streets, where she was careened and repaired. This "vly" or valley afterwards became the site of the well-known Fly Market.

Soon after De Vries' arrival, the first fire in the vicinity occurred at Pavonia. Cornelius Van Voorst, the newly appointed agent for Patroon Pauw, had just arrived, bringing with him some choice claret, and Van Twiller, with De Vries and Domine Bogardus, hastened thither to greet his arrival and taste the luxury. The party was not altogether an harmonious one, for Van Twiller and Bogardus, who were friends for the occasion, quarrelled with Van Voorst about a murder which had recently been committed on his premises. They parted, however, on friendly terms, and on their return, the agent fired a farewell salute from a swivel that was mounted in front of his house. A spark fell upon the thatched roof, the reeds caught, and in half an hour the building was in ashes. Such an event had, as yet, been hardly anticipated, and no means were at

hand for extinguishing the fire ; nor indeed did any exist until several years after.

De Vries soon after prepared to return to Europe, and the director resolved to give a banquet in honor of his departure. Tables were spread on the Battery in one of the angles of the fort and a large company invited and Van Corlaer, the celebrated trumpeter of the fort, was called upon to furnish music for the occasion. The wine circulated freely and all were merry ; but just as the festivity had reached its height, a couple of worthy "koopmans," or supercargoes, took it into their heads to find fault with the trumpeter. The valorous Van Corlaer vindicated his cause by giving them both a beating, upon which they ran home for their swords, uttering threats of the most direful vengeance. . But their anger evaporated during the night, and in the morning, says the quaint chronicler of the times, "they feared the "trumpeter more than they sought him." De Vries, after selecting Staten Island as his future residence, and entering his claim to it through the director, set sail for Holland, taking with him several Englishmen, who had sold their vessel, together with two captured prizes, at Fort Amsterdam.

Van Twiller, as has already been said, was too good a merchant to neglect his own interests. In the summer of 1636, he, with Jacob Van Corlaer, Adriaen Hudde and Wolfert Gerritsen, purchased a tract of land comprising some fifteen thousand acres on Long Island, where they founded New Amersfoort, the present Flatlands. About the same time, he granted to Roelef Jansen a tract of thirty-one morgens or sixty-two acres of land,

beginning a little south of the present Warren street, and extending along Broadway as far as Duane street, and thence northwesterly a mile and a half to Christopher street, thus forming a sort of unequal triangle with its base upon the North River. This grant afterwards became a part of the famous Trinity Church property. Jansen died a few years after, leaving four children, and his widow and heiress, Aneke Jans, became the wife of Domine Bogardus. After his shipwreck and death, the grant was confirmed by Stuyvesant to Aneke Jans, a second time a widow with eight children. Upon the subsequent capture of the province, the grant was again confirmed by the English government to her heirs, who sold it in 1671 to Colonel Lovelace, though one of the heirs failed to join in the conveyance. It was now incorporated into the King's Farm, once owned by the Dutch West India Company, and, in 1703, was presented by Queen Anne to Trinity Church, at that time the established church of the city. Van Twiller also confirmed the possession of the Waal-bogt to George Jansen de Rapelje, one of the Walloons who had emigrated with Cornelissen Mey,* and granted to Jonas Bronck that part of Westchester lying opposite Harlem.

Nor did Van Twiller neglect to increase his own possessions. Besides his recent purchases on Long Island, he already had a flourishing plantation at Red Hook ; to this he added Nutten's Island, which lay opposite it, only separated by a narrow channel, so shoal that cattle

* The companions of de Rapelje, whose names, slightly changed in orthography, may still be found among the residents of the Wallabout and its vicinity, were L'Escuyer, Duregee, Le Sillie, Cershaw, Conseiller, and Musserol.

forded it at low water. This undoubtedly formed originally a part of Long Island. But the abrasion of the neighboring shores by the waves, together with the filling in of the lower part of the city, have widened and deepened the chasm, and ships now pass in safety through Buttermilk Channel. So lately as the close of the last century, its passage was hardly deemed safe for boats, on account of the rocks with which it was filled; though market-boats, loaded with buttermilk and rowed by women, glided through it on their way from Long Island to the New York market, and gave it its name. Nutten's Island, which had derived its name from its abundance of nut-trees, was henceforth known as Governor's Island. Soon afterwards he purchased Great Barn and Blackwell Islands in the Hellegat River; becoming through these acquisitions the richest landholder in the colony. The growing rapacity of the director became at length so apparent that it excited public attention, and called forth open murmurs from Van Dincklagen, the upright and able schout-fiscal. Incensed at this audacity, Van Twiller removed him from his office, and, retaining his salary, which was now three years in arrear, sent him a prisoner to Holland on a charge of contumacy. Ulrich Lupold was appointed as his temporary successor. But on his arrival, Van Dincklagen, who was a man of marked ability, represented the bad management of the director so strongly to the States General, that they urged the Amsterdam Chamber to recall him, and to reinstate Van Dincklagen in his office. To this they at first demurred, but the representations of Van Dincklagen being confirmed by De Vries, they finally con-

sented, and on the 2d of September, 1637, appointed Wilhelm Kieft as his successor. Nor did the schout-fiscal stop here ; he also censured Domine Bogardus so severely, that the latter, on learning of the charges made against him, petitioned for leave to return to Holland to defend himself. This was denied him, but the consistory of his church instituted ecclesiastical proceedings against Van Dincklagen, which were brought several years afterwards before the Classis of Amsterdam. Van Dincklagen was forced to wait many years for the payment of his salary, though the States General had signified their pleasure that it should at once be paid to him. But he finally returned with honor to New Amsterdam, to fill one of the most important offices in the government.

One of the last events in the administration of Van Twiller was the purchase of Pavonia from its patroon by the West India Company. This purchase consolidated their power, by giving them possession of the Jersey shore as well as of Staten Island. Swaanendael they had before acquired, and all the patroonships with the exception of Rensselaerswyck thus reverted back to them. This, indeed, was the only one in which the system had produced the colonization so much desired by the Company. Yet the settlement at Manhattan remained the only one worthy of the name ; and, at this date, the history of the city and that of the province must necessarily be inseparable. Pavonia soon lost its euphonic appellation, Latinized from the uncouth name of Pauw, in the hands of its new proprietors ; and at the present time, the little village of Communipauw is all that is left to remind us of the wealthy patroon.

On the 28th of March, Wilhelm Kieft, the new director, arrived in the ship *Herring*, at Manhattan. His antecedents were not prepossessing. Born at Amsterdam and educated as a merchant, he had become a bankrupt at Rochelle, where his portrait had been affixed to the public gallows after the custom of the city. After this, he had been sent to ransom some Christians in Turkey, where he was accused of having left several captives in bondage, retaining the money which had been raised for the purchase of their liberty. He was a bustling, excitable man, with some show of business talent and considerable energy, yet testy, irritable and capricious, without stability or mental equilibrium, and devoid of the sound judgment and cool prudence so necessary in the governor of a province. In some respects, he was the superior of the heavy, indolent Van Twiller, yet the nervous irritability which rendered him so, involved the province in scenes of blood and horror which it would probably have escaped beneath the placable sway of the good-natured director.

Kieft immediately set to work with bustling activity, organizing his council in such a manner as to keep the direction of affairs in his own hands. Lupold was continued in the office of schout, Van Tienhoven was appointed koopman, and a Huguenot physician by the name of Johannes la Montagne, who had lately emigrated to New Amsterdam, was admitted into the council. This done, he set about reforming the abuses which had crept into the colony, and repairing the disorder of public affairs. He found no lack of business in this direction. The fort was in a ruinous condition, and all the

guns dismantled; the church and government buildings were out of repair; but one of the three mills which had been built was in working order, and almost all the vessels were leaky or disabled. The few cattle of the Company had been sold or transported to the plantations of Van Twiller, and their farms thrown into commons. There were abuses everywhere—private individuals smuggled furs and tobacco, and sold powder and guns to the Indians, regardless of the prohibitions of the Company, and law and order were almost obsolete in the colony. Kieft energetically set to work to cure these evils, and issued a code of laws and regulations, which were not much better heeded by the colonists than the wordy protests of Van Twiller had been by the English. All illegal traffic in furs was forbidden under penalty of confiscation of the goods, the selling of muskets or ammunition to the Indians was made a capital offence, tobacco was subject to excise, and no liquor but wine was permitted to be sold at retail. Sailors were forbidden to leave their ships after nightfall, hours were fixed for all to commence and leave off work, and strict laws were passed against all vice and profanity. Thursday in each week was fixed for the session of the council as a civil and criminal court. All persons were prohibited from leaving the island without a passport, and strict measures were taken to restrain the illegal traffic which had grown so dangerous to the interests of the Company.

Meanwhile, the Dutch were threatened with a new rival from an unexpected quarter. Minuit, the ex-director, indignant at his abrupt dismissal, resolved to

found a new colony under his own direction. With this design, he proceeded to Stockholm, and, gaining access to Queen Christina, described the new country to her in such glowing language that she at once became anxious to secure a portion of it for Sweden. The project, indeed, was not a new one ; it had previously been proposed to Gustavus Adolphus by William Usselinx, the original projector of the Dutch West India Company, who had favored the undertaking ; but ere it could be carried into effect, Sweden's greatest monarch had found his death on the field of Lützen. It remained for his daughter, aided by the counsels of the able Oxenstiern, to carry out his project, and to secure a foothold for Sweden in the New World. By her command, the Key of Calmar man-of-war, and a tender called the Griffin, were fitted out with goods suitable for traffic with the Indians, a Lutheran clergyman and some fifty emigrants were embarked, and the expedition was placed under Minuit's direction. Steering directly for the Virginian coast, he touched at Jamestown for wood and water ; then, proceeding to Delaware Bay, he purchased all the territory on the west side of the river from Cape Henlopen to Trenton Falls, with an indefinite extent inland, of the sachem of the country, for the consideration of a kettle and a few trifles, and, taking possession of the country in the name of Sweden, erected a trading-post which he called Fort Christina. This was situated near the site of the present Wilmington, and was the first settlement within the State of Delaware.

On learning of this new encroachment, Kieft immediately served a protest on the intruders, claiming the

territory as the property of the West India Company; and declaring that he would not be answerable for the consequences which might result from their illegal occupation. Finding his remonstrances disregarded, he applied for instructions to the Amsterdam Chamber. But, at this time, Sweden was one of the most powerful of the European kingdoms; the States General, unwilling to embroil themselves with so dangerous a neighbor, deemed it expedient not to pursue the matter further, and the Swedes were permitted to continue their traffic under protest.

Soon after this occurrence, a measure was adopted by the Company which proved of vital importance to the interests of the colony. Hitherto, their efforts at colonization had proved futile, and the patroon system had resulted in a total failure. For the encouragement of individual enterprise, a new charter of privileges was granted, limiting patroonships to four miles of frontage on navigable rivers with eight miles inland; granting to every person who should transport himself and five others to the province at his own cost, two hundred acres of land; and conferring on all villages and cities which should hereafter be founded, the right of choosing their own magistrates. The monopoly of the Indian trade was relinquished in consideration of a moderate duty, the Company only retaining the exclusive right of transportation to and from the colony. They offered a free passage, however, to all respectable farmers, with as much land as they could cultivate on their arrival, subject to a quit-rent of a tenth of the produce. They also pledged themselves to provide ministers, school-

masters, and "comforters for the sick;" and renewed their promise to supply the colonists with negroes. The prohibition against making cloths was also repealed. The Reformed Dutch Religion was declared the established faith of the province, though the fullest toleration was granted to all other sects. No distinction was made between foreigners and Hollanders, the only obligation imposed on the former being an oath of fidelity to the Dutch government.

Allured by these liberal offers, numerous wealthy emigrants soon flocked into the colony. In 1639, De Vries returned to Manhattan with a party of colonists, and erected some buildings and began a colony on Staten Island. In the course of the same year, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter and Cornelis Melyn, both men of means and influence, arrived with a number of emigrants at New Amsterdam, where they soon became prominent members of the colony. Some English indentured servants, who had served out their time in Virginia, came also to Manhattan, where they carried on the cultivation of tobacco, and introduced cherry and peach-trees which had hitherto been unknown in the settlement. Attracted by the greater religious freedom in the province, several valuable settlers came in from New England, among whom was Captain John Underhill, who had distinguished himself in the Pequod war, and had afterwards become Governor of Dover. The strangers were cordially welcomed, and at once inducted into all the privileges of citizenship, and they soon grew warmly attached to the interests of their adopted city. The island was fast losing its savage aspect, full thirty farms and planta-

tions were in thrifty cultivation, and the country outside the walls of the fort resembled a blooming garden.

The land in the vicinity of Manhattan, both on the Long Island and Jersey shores, and northward on the mainland, was fast being brought under cultivation. In the summer of 1638, Kieft had purchased for the Company a large tract of land on Long Island in the vicinity of the present Newtown, and commenced the settlement of the country adjacent to the Waal-bogt. In the following summer, Antonie Jansen de Rapelje, the brother of the founder of the Walloon settlement, obtained a grant of a hundred morgens, or nearly two hundred acres of land, opposite Coney Island, and commenced the settlement of Gravesend. Rapelje, or Jansen, as he was commonly called, was a man of prodigious strength and stature, and was reputed by many to be a Moor by birth, a circumstance probably owing to his adjunct of De Salee, under which name his patent was granted, and by which he was often known. This report, however, was without foundation; he was a native Walloon, and the suffix to his name was probably derived from the river Saale in France, and not from Salee in Morocco. For many years after the Dutch dynasty had passed away, his farm at Gravesend continued to be known as Anthony Jansen's Bouwery.* Thomas Belcher,

* William Jansen de Rapelje, the third brother of this family, distinguished as having been among the earliest settlers of Long Island, and the founders of the present city of Brooklyn, settled at New Amsterdam, where he died without children. By a curious caprice, the descendants of Antonie have discarded the name of Rapelje, retaining that of Jansen, or Johnson as they are more commonly called; while the family of George have dropped the Jansen, and are known by the name of Rapelje or Rapelyea.

an Englishman, soon after obtained a tract of land at Brooklyn, and George Holmes and Thomas Hall, the leaders of the unsuccessful Virginian expedition against Fort Nassau, who had now become residents of Manhattan, obtained farms near Deutel's, now Turtle Bay on the East River. In the spring of 1640, Kieft purchased of the Indians in behalf of the Company, all the territory comprised within the present limits of Kings and Queens Counties which was not already in their possession. De Vries soon after established another colony at Tappan on lands which he had previously purchased of the Indians, to which he gave the name of Vriesendael. The following year, another colony was established within an hour's walk of the former by Myndert Vander Voorst in the valley of the Hackensack River; and about the same time, Cornelis Melyn obtained a grant from the Amsterdam Chamber for all that part of Staten Island which was not already occupied by De Vries. Previously to this, Kieft had established a distillery and buckskin manufactory there on his own account, and had stationed a few soldiers in a small redoubt on one of the headlands, with orders to signal to the garrison in the fort the arrival of vessels in the lower bay.

The English, meanwhile, continued their encroachments upon the territory of the Connecticut, and had almost succeeded in forcing the Dutch from Fort Good Hope, the only foothold which they possessed in that region. Not content with this, they next attempted to gain possession of Long Island also. In 1635, Lord Stirling had obtained a grant from the Plymouth Council of a part of New England, together with Long Island

and acting on this authority, he dispatched James Farrett, a Scotchman, to take possession of it and dispose of it in his name. Farrett at once proceeded to the island, and selected Shelter and Robbins' Islands in Peconic Bay for his own use, first purchasing the land of the Indians. Soon after, he confirmed the purchase of Gardiner's Island, which had previously been made by Lyon Gardiner, in the name of Lord Stirling. The following year, Gardiner removed with his family to the island, and founded the first settlement in this region. Farrett next granted a patent of the lands in the vicinity of Manhasset to a company of emigrants from Lynn, who proceeded thither, and tearing down the arms which the Dutch had affixed to a tree, proceeded to establish a colony there. Penhawitz, the friendly sachem of the country, instantly dispatched a messenger to Kieft to inform him of the aggression; whom Van Tienhoven at once dispatched to the spot with an armed force to break up the incipient settlement. He arrested the party and brought them to Manhattan, whence they were sent back to New England, after signing an agreement never more to trespass upon the Dutch territory.

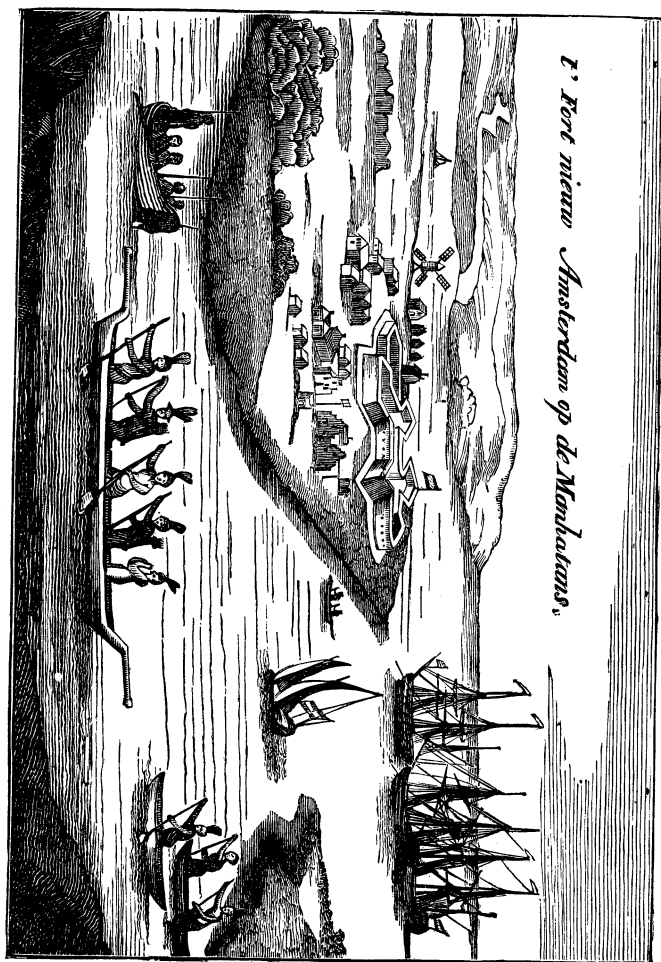
Disappointed in their attempt to found a colony on the western part of the island, the same parties obtained another grant from Farrett of lands on the eastern part, and, in 1640, commenced the settlement of Southampton. In the same year, the neighboring town of Southold was settled by a company of emigrants from Norfolkshire, England, who, after spending a short time at New Haven, had crossed the Sound, and secured the lands in the vicinity of Yinnicock, now Greenport. But these

distant settlements scarcely troubled the Dutch authorities, who, content with maintaining their claim to the western part of the island, suffered the eastern colonists to remain in peace. In 1648, another party of colonists from Lynn took possession of the easternmost part of the island, and founded the town of Easthampton. With the exception of a small colony that was founded at Setauket, on the north side of the island, in 1655, these were the only English settlements that were made on Long Island during the rule of the Dutch dynasty.

The Swedes, meanwhile, had continued to carry on a flourishing trade with the Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Christina. In the beginning, they experienced hardships and privations ; at one time, indeed, rendered desperate by famine, they were on the point of breaking up their little settlement and removing to Manhattan, where Kieft had promised them a cordial reception. Fortunately, the day before the projected emigration, a ship laden with colonists and supplies appeared in the river. Others soon followed, and the colony rapidly increased. In 1641, Peter Minuit died, and was buried at Fort Christina. Peter Hollendaere, a Swede, succeeded him in the command.

But the success of these Swedish colonists on the South River was too marked not to excite the cupidity of the New Englanders. In 1640, a bark was fitted out at New Haven by a merchant (George Lambertson), and dispatched with some fifty families to the shores of the Delaware to found a settlement. On the way, they touched at Manhattan, where they were warned by Kieft to desist from all enterprises in that quarter. Disregard-

ing his injunctions, they proceeded on their way, and established themselves, a part on Salem Creek, and the rest on the Schuylkill. Enraged at this interference with the Dutch trade, Kieft fitted out two yachts with a force of fifty men to dislodge the intruders; but trouble breaking out among the Indians on Staten Island, he was forced for the time to abandon the enterprise. In the following year, he dispatched an expedition, which, seconded by the Swedes, broke up both the settlements, and brought back the English with their goods to Fort Amsterdam, whence they were sent back to New Haven. Lamberton, who persisted in trading at the South River, was soon after arrested and brought to Manhattan, where he was compelled to pay full duties on his cargo. The English demanded satisfaction for the damages done their people, which they estimated at a thousand pounds, but Kieft boldly justified his conduct, and refused to accede to their demand. The controversy continued, and the English annoyed their neighbors so greatly that Kieft proclaimed a non-intercourse with the colony of Connecticut. This state of affairs proving embarrassing, the colonists soon opened a negotiation with Kieft for the purchase of the territory about the Dutch post; and this failing, both parties appealed to their respective powers in England and Holland for a redress of their grievances. But civil war was now raging in England between the king and the parliament, and though a correspondence was opened between the two governments, the settlement of the question was deferred till a more convenient season. Meanwhile, the English persisted in their design of crowding out the Dutch



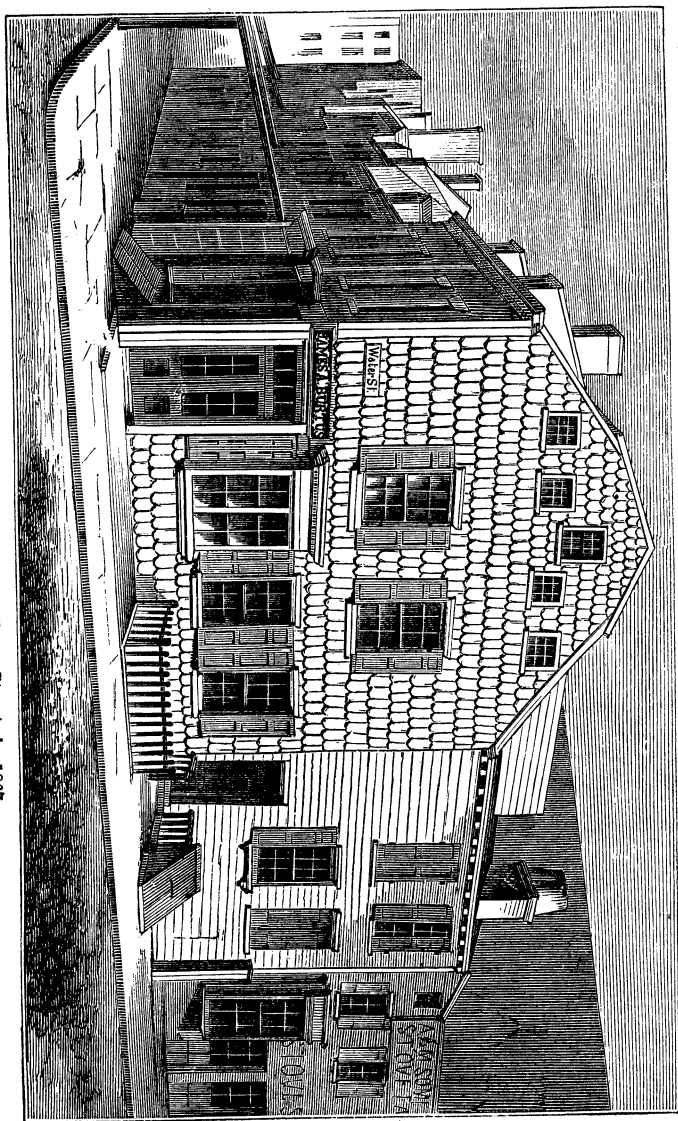
from a territory which indubitably belonged to them, both by right of discovery and that of first possession.

The settlement at Fort Amsterdam—the embryo New York—continued to increase in numbers and prosperity. Among the late accessions were many men of wealth and public spirit, who were ambitious for the advancement of the colony. The settlement was growing into respectable proportions. A few brick and stone houses had been erected for the accommodation of the governor and officials, but the greater part were unpretending little cottages, with thatched roofs and wooden chimneys, standing with the gable end to the street. Until 1642, city lots and streets were unknown; the settlers chose land wherever it was most convenient for them, and being gregarious in habits, streets were formed almost by instinct. This fact accounts reasonably enough for the crooked ways of the lower part of our metropolis. Two roads leading from the fort towards the northern part of the island had been formed by common consent; the one, afterwards known as the Boston or Old Post Road, leading from the fort up the line of Broadway to the end of the Park, then winding round through Chatham, Duane, William and Pearl streets to avoid a steep hill with a brook at the foot at Roosevelt street, and continuing its course up the line of the Bowery; the other, extending from the fort through Stone street to Hanover Square, and thence along the river shore to the ferry, where the ferryman, Cornelis Dircksen, who owned a farm hard by, came at the sound of the horn that hung against a tree, and ferried the waiting passenger across the river in his little skiff for the moderate

charge of three stivers in wampum. This ferry, in the earliest days of the city, was established between the nearest points of contact of the opposite shores, that is, from the vicinity of Peck Slip to a point a little below the Fulton ferry landing at Brooklyn.

At this time, and for many years after, Pearl street formed the edge of the river. It is at no very distant date, indeed, that Water, Front and South streets have been reclaimed from their river beds and made to do their duty as a stanch support to commerce. From the old yellow house—one of the last relics of the past—standing until 1867 on the corner of Peck Slip and Water street, one could easily throw stones into the river which flowed through Water street at the time of its erection. In the days of Wilhelm Kieft, this street was selected as the site of the up-town residences of the wealthy burghers on account of its fine river prospect. The ferryman Dircksen owned the land directly opposite the ferry; the tract above of thirty-three acres, extending up to the vicinity of Franklin Square, was owned by Henry Bressar. Above this lay Wolfert's Marsh, the property of Wolfert Van Couwenhoven, covering the Roosevelt street district. Between the lands of Dircksen, and Wall street, which formed the northern boundary of the city, the lands along the line of the street were owned by David Provoost, Philip de Truy, Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Laurens Vanderwel, and Govert Loockermans, the most of whom were agents in the Company's employ. On the west side of Broadway, above the graveyard, stood the country seats of Messrs. Vandiegrist and Van Dyck. But the most of the houses

Burlus House, corner of Peck Slip and Water Street, in 1867.

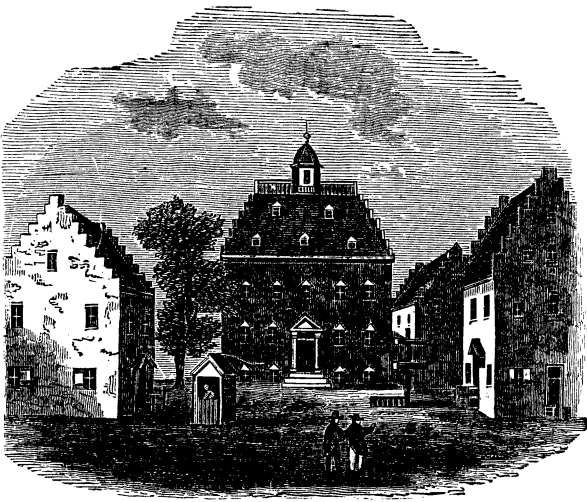


were clustered at the lower end of the town about the walls of the fort. In Whitehall street, stood the parsonage, with its garden of variegated tulips intersected by plain alleys of clipped box and cedars. In close proximity stood the bakery, brewery, and warehouse of the Company. In South William near Pearl street was the old horsemill, erected by Minuit, and since superseded by the windmills of Van Twiller. One of these stood on State street, the most prominent object in the city as seen from the river. The fort itself was bounded by the Bowling Green, Bridge, Whitehall and State streets. The former was known as "the plain," and was a valuable institution, both in peace and war. It was the village green, where the people erected their May poles and danced on holidays; it served also as the parade ground of the soldiers of the fort, and more than once, had it witnessed the departure of a warlike expedition. Pearl street was probably the street first occupied—the oldest in the annals of the city; the first houses were built on it in 1633. Bridge street came next in order, and a deed is still on record whereby Abraham Van Steenwyck sells to Anthony Van Fees a lot on this street, thirty feet front by one hundred and ten feet deep, for the sum of twenty-four guilders, or nine dollars and sixty cents—the earliest conveyance of property now on record in this city. Whitehall, Stone, Broad, Beaver and Market-field streets were built on soon after. In 1642, the first grant of a city lot east of the fort was made to Hendrick Hendricksen Kip. The following year, several grants of lots on the lower end of Broadway, or Heere Straat as it was then called, were made to different individuals

Martin Krigier was the first grantee of a lot on this street, opposite the Bowling Green, containing about eighty-six rods. On this he built the well-known "Krigier's Tavern," which soon became a place of fashionable resort. Upon its demolition, the "King's Arms Tavern" was erected in its stead. This afterwards became the head-quarters of General Gage, the commandant of the fort and commander-in-chief of the British forces at the breaking out of the Revolution. Transformed into the Atlantic Gardens, No. 9 Broadway, it remained standing, one of the few relics of the olden time; the more remarkable for being but the second structure that has occupied the site since the foundation of the city. Other grantees soon purchased lots, and streets became fixed facts in the lower part of the city, though no systematic effort was made for their regulation until after the arrival of Stuyvesant. The price of lots averaged at about fourteen dollars; they were laid out in uneven figures to suit the course of the streets, containing from thirty to a hundred and twenty-five feet, according to the location.

In 1641, Kieft instituted two annual fairs for the encouragement of agriculture, the first for cattle, to be held on the 15th of October, and the second for hogs, to be held on the 1st of November, upon the Bowling Green. This opened the way for another improvement. As yet, no tavern had been erected within the settlement for the accommodation of strangers, and the numerous visitors from the New England colonies as well as from the interior were compelled to avail themselves of the hospitalities of the director. The fairs swelled the number, and Kieft, finding the tax

becoming a heavy one, in 1642 erected a large stone tavern at the Company's expense for their accommodation. This tavern was situated on the east shore of the river, near the present Coenties Slip, and was afterwards transformed into a city hall or Stadt huys.



"Stadt Huys," at Coenties Slip

The church which had been built by Van Twiller, and which was but a barn at best, was becoming dilapidated, and several of the settlers, headed by De Vries, urged the erection of a new one. "It was a shame," they said, "that the English, who had such fine churches in their settlements, should see them worshipping in a mean barn, when they had plenty of fine wood and stone and oyster-shells for lime at their very doors." It is more probable that they feared an attack from the Indians in the old structure outside the walls of the fort,

but this they did not choose to assign as their motive. The governor consented, and proposed, doubtless for the same reason, that the church should be erected within the walls of the fort. To this arrangement, many demurred. They objected that the fort was already crowded with buildings, and that the church would intercept the southeast wind and obstruct the working of the windmill on the shore of the North River ; but the director remained firm, and the site was finally agreed upon. Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, and Jan Jansen Damen, with De Vries and Kieft, were appointed "kirke-meesters," to superintend the building of the edifice, and nothing was wanting but the necessary funds.

How to obtain them was the question. Kieft, on his part, promised to advance a thousand guilders on the Company's account, and De Vries headed a private subscription-list with a hundred more, but this was not nearly sufficient, and the citizens were not in a liberal humor. A little management extricated the projectors from their difficulty. At this juncture, a daughter of Domine Bogardus was opportunely married. The principal citizens were invited to the wedding, the wine circulated freely, and all were merry. When the festivity had reached its height, the subscription paper was produced, and the excited guests vied with each other in the amount of their donations. There were some the next morning who would fain have recalled their reckless liberality ; but repentance availed them nothing, the money was subscribed, and the work went on.

A contract was made with John and Richard Ogden of Stamford for the mason-work of a church of rock-

stone, seventy-two feet long, fifty-two wide and sixteen high, at a cost of twenty-five hundred guilders, with a bonus of a hundred more, should the work prove satisfactory. The roof was covered with split oaken shingles, then called wooden slates. In the front wall was inserted a marble slab with the inscription, "Ao. Do. MDCXLII. W. Kieft Dr. Gr. Heeft de Gerneenten dese "Tempel doen Bouwen;" which, being translated, gives the somewhat equivocal sentence, "Anno Domini, 1642, "Wilhelm Kieft, Director-General, hath the Commonalty caused to build this Temple." When the fort was demolished in 1787 to make room for the Government House, the stone was discovered, buried in the earth, and was removed to the belfry of the old Dutch Church in Garden street, where it remained until both were destroyed in the conflagration of 1835. The church was styled the St. Nicholas, in honor of the tutelary saint of New Amsterdam. The town bell was removed to the belfry, whence it regulated all the affairs of the city; ringing time for laborers, summoning courts of justice, ringing merry peals for weddings, tolling out funeral knells, and calling the people on Sundays to their devotions.

Better order, too, was beginning to be observed in the colony. The director had succeeded in part in enforcing his laws, and in restraining contraband trade; as well as in checking the importation of bad wampum into the colony, which had been a source of serious annoyance to the settlers, by reducing its value from four to six beads for a stuyver. This wampum, or seawant, as it was properly called, merits a more extended notice than

has hitherto been given it. It was of two kinds, the wampum or white, and the suckanhock sucki, or black seawant—the former being made from the stem of the periwinkle, and the latter from the purple coating of the hard clam. These were rounded and polished into beads, and pierced with sharp stones, then strung upon the sinews of animals, and woven into belts of different sizes. The black beads were accounted twice as valuable as the white, the latter being made the standard of valuation. A string a fathom long was worth about four guilders. Although seawant was the generic name of the currency, the wampum, strictly speaking, being only the white beads, among the Dutch and English the latter name was universally applied to it. The best was manufactured on Long Island, called by the aborigines Sewanhacky, or the Isle of Shells. The seawant of the Iroquois and New England Indians was inferior in quality, and rough and badly strung. Indeed, it seems to have been unknown among the New England tribes before 1627, when Isaac de Rasières, the koopman of New Amsterdam, when on an embassy to Plymouth, purchased corn with it from the English settlers. Finding it convenient as a circulating medium, the Indians soon learned the art of its manufacture, and it was not long before the cunning New Englanders succeeded in draining New Netherland of its finely polished seawant in payment for their goods, and introducing large quantities of their imperfect beads in turn. Nor was this all; beads of porcelain were manufactured in Europe and put into circulation among the colonists, and the evil grew so alarming that, in 1641, the council published an ordi-

nance with the sanction of Kieft, declaring that "a great deal of bad seawant, imported from other places, was in circulation, while the good, splendid sewant, usually called Manhattans sewant, was out of sight or exported, which must cause the ruin of the country." To remedy this evil, the ordinance provided that in future all coarse seawant, well stringed, should pass at six for one stuyver ; while the well polished should be valued at four for a stuyver. This ordinance is the first on record for the regulation of the exportation of specie in the colony. In 1657, they were again reduced from six to eight for a stuyver.

About this time, too, the increasing intercourse with the English settlements rendered it necessary that some provision should be made in respect to correspondence in the English language. Dutch was of course the language of the settlement ; Kieft knew something of English, but his officers were ignorant of it, and this was often embarrassing. It was therefore resolved that an English secretary was indispensable ; George Baxter was appointed to the office, with an annual salary of two hundred and fifty guilders ; and the English language was thus first recognized in New Amsterdam.

CHAPTER III.

1642—1664.

The Indian War—Petrus Stuyvesant—New Amsterdam becomes New York.

A CLOUD had long been gathering over the colony ; it now burst with terrific fury. At the period at which our chapter opens, the colonists were involved in the horrors of an Indian war—a war which devastated the little settlement, and the bloody tragedies of which were long perpetuated in legends and traditions. To better depict its rise and progress, it will be necessary to retrace the events of a few years, and to glance briefly at the causes which had thus transformed the friendship of the natives into bitter hostility.

For some years past, an unfriendly feeling had gradually been springing up between the settlers and the Indians. The better to carry on the fur trade, the Dutch had separated from each other, and scattered over the interior of the province, where they had allured the natives to their houses by supplying them with liquor, and treating them with great familiarity ; and had bartered guns and ammunition in exchange for their furs, despite the laws to the contrary. The natives thus

became well supplied with fire-arms, and also gained a knowledge of the numbers and habits of the settlers. This was especially the case with the Mohawks in the neighborhood of the colony of Rensselaerswyck. In the vicinity of New Amsterdam, stricter regulations were observed, and the colonists were strictly prohibited from selling guns and ammunition to the Indians. This excited the jealousy of the river tribes, who accused the Dutch of partiality to their enemies. The cattle of the settlers often strayed into the unfenced corn-fields of their Indian neighbors, who revenged themselves for the mischief by shooting them down. Many of the natives were at this time employed as house and farm servants in the colony, who often committed petty thefts and ran away, to acquaint their tribes with the domestic arrangements of their masters.

In the midst of the bitter feelings which had been stirred up by these petty aggressions, Kieft rashly determined to levy a tribute of corn, furs and wampum upon the Indians, under the pretext that the government incurred heavy expenses in protecting them from their enemies. This excited the indignation and contempt of the natives, who well knew that they received no protection from the soldiers at Fort Amsterdam. They could not understand why they should be compelled to support the Dutch because they had suffered them to live peaceably in their country. "The sachem must be a mean fellow," they said ; "he had come to live among them without an invitation, and now wanted them to supply him with maize for nothing."

At this juncture, a party of Dutch, on their way to the



Indians bringing Tribute.

South River, landed at Staten Island and stole some hogs belonging to De Vries ; the blame of which was laid on the Raritans, a tribe on the west shore of the Hudson, who were also accused of having attacked a yacht, and stolen a canoe from its crew.

The impetuous Kieft resolved at once to punish the offenders, and, on the 16th of July, 1640, dispatched Koopman Van Tienhoven with seventy men, to demand immediate reparation. On reaching the settlement, Van Tienhoven demanded the restitution of the property. But nothing less than the blood of the natives would

satisfy the men under his command. After vainly remonstrating, Van Tienhoven left them to their work of destruction, and returned to the fort. The soldiers fell on the innocent Raritans, burned their crops, killed ten of their warriors, and returned to New Amsterdam, having lost one of their own men in the encounter. Thus was laid the foundation of a bloody war, which threatened for a time to destroy the infant colony, and which prudent management might easily have averted.

This unprovoked outrage naturally awakened a desire for vengeance in the hearts of the Raritans. While awaiting a fitting moment, they amused the director with overtures for peace; then, suddenly falling upon the plantation of De Vries at Staten Island, they burned his dwelling and tobacco house, and killed four of his planters.

Incensed at the consequences of his own folly, the governor determined to exterminate the whole tribe, and allured the river Indians to assist him by offering a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum for the head of every Raritan, and twenty for the heads of the actual murderers. It was not long before Pacham, a chief of the Tankitekes or Haverstraw Indians, came in with the hand of the dead chief of the party as a token that he had earned the price of blood. Terrified at the power of their foes, the Raritans sued for peace, and hostilities were for a time suspended.

But it was only to change the scene of warfare. An Indian never forgets an injury, and the memory of his uncle's murder had long been rankling in the breast of the Weckquaesgeek boy who had witnessed the foul deed in the days of Minuit. The boy had now grown into

a man, and, according to the Indian custom, the duty devolved upon him of offering up ~~a victim~~ to the manes of his murdered kinsman. Twenty years had passed since the murder ; the Dutch, if they had ever known, had forgotten it ; but the memory was fresh in the mind of the young Indian, and a harmless old wheelwright, by the name of Claes Smits, who dwelt in a little house near Deutel's Bay, was chosen by him as the victim of his revenge. Stopping at the house of the old man one day, under the pretext of bartering some beaver-skins for blankets, the Indian struck him dead with an axe while he was stooping over the chest in which he kept his goods, then, rifling the house, escaped with his booty.

A judicious governor would have overlooked this offence, heinous as it seems, in view of the consequences. The stern law of Indian justice, blood for blood, had been satisfied, the murder could not be undone, and to seek to avenge it was to endanger the lives of the whole community. But Kieft, who thirsted for the extermination of the Indians, refused to be satisfied with anything less than the blood of the offender, and demanded him of his tribe, who refused to give him up, saying that he had but avenged his kinsman after the custom of the nation. Upon receiving this answer, the first impulse of Kieft was to declare an immediate war. But the people remonstrated—scattered as they were, over the island on their farms and bouweries, such a proceeding menaced them with instant destruction ; and Kieft, perceiving that he would be held responsible for the consequences of such a war, reluctantly called a council of the principal citizens to consult together in the emergency.

They assembled in the fort on the 28th of August, 1641, and formed the first public assembly that ever convened on the island of Manhattan.

To this assembly, Kieft submitted these propositions : Whether the murder of Claes Smits should not be avenged ?—Whether, in case the tribe refused to surrender the murderer, the whole village should not be destroyed ?—In what manner and when should this be executed ? and by whom could it be effected ?

The assembly at once chose “Twelve Select Men,” to act as their representatives in this matter. These first representatives of the people were Jacques Bentyne, Maryn Adriaensen, Jan Jansen Damen, Hendrick Jansen, David Pietersen de Vries, Jacob Stoffelsen, Abram Molenaar, Frederick Subbertsen, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Gerrit Dirksen, George Rapelje, and Abram Planck ; all Hollanders. Of these, De Vries was chosen president. In answer to the propositions of Kieft, they replied that, while the murder of Smits ought to be avenged, “God and the opportunity” should be taken into consideration. They advised that preparations should be made for war, that coats of mail should be provided for the soldiers, and that two parties, headed by the director in person, should march against the Weckquaesgeek village in the hunting season, if they still refused to deliver up the murderer ; but that, in the meantime, every effort should be made to bring the affair to a peaceful termination, and to avert a war with the natives. De Vries, though he had been the principal sufferer, having witnessed the destruction of his colonies both at Swaanendael and at Staten Island, was

earnestly opposed to war. The Company, too, was averse to it, and had constantly directed the colonists to keep peace with the natives, as they valued their own safety.

These peaceful counsels did not suit the temper of the vengeful director. But the Twelve Men succeeded in postponing the war for a season, then turned their attention to public affairs. The number of the council being optional with the director, Kieft's consisted only of himself and La Montagne, Kieft having two votes and Montagne one. The Twelve Men demanded that the council should be reorganized and increased at least to five, that four of these should be elected by the people, and that judicial proceedings should only be had before a full board. They also demanded that the militia should be mustered annually, and that the Company should furnish half a pound of powder to each man; that the people should be allowed to visit vessels arriving from abroad, and to trade freely with neighboring places, subject to the duties of the Company. Besides this, they required that the English should be prohibited from selling cows and goats within the province; and that a greater increase should be made in the value of the provincial currency.

These bold demands irritated the director beyond expression; but as he could only thus gain their consent to the war that he so ardently desired, he consented to make some concessions. A complete council, he said, was daily expected from Holland; he was willing, however, that the people should choose four men, two of whom were to be chosen annually, who should be

called into the council when necessary, and should assemble occasionally to consult upon public affairs. The other demands he granted without much reluctance, refusing only to permit the people to visit vessels from abroad, or to furnish powder to the militia for practice. In return, he wrung from them a reluctant consent to the war, and on the 18th of February, 1642, dissolved the body.

Having at last obtained the formal consent of the people to commence hostilities, Kieft dispatched a party of eighty men against the Weckquaesgeeks with orders to exterminate them by fire and sword. The party was intrusted to the command of Hendrick Van Dyck, and accompanied by a guide who professed to know the country. Night set in, however, before they reached the Indian village, the guide lost his way and Van Dyck his temper, and the party returned, innocent of the death of a single Indian. The Weckquaesgeeks, discovering from the trail of the white men the danger to which they had been exposed, became terrified and sued for peace, promising to deliver up the murderer of Smits—a promise, by the way, which they never performed.

While these negotiations were pending, a trader made an Indian drunk, and stole from him a dress of beaver skins. On regaining his senses, the incensed savage, meeting De Vries, told him of the theft, and vowed to shoot the first white man he should meet. De Vries tried to dissuade him from his purpose, but in vain. A few days after, he shot an Englishman on Staten Island, and afterwards, a Dutch colonist at Newark Bay.

The frightened sachems hastened to New Amsterdam, and offered two hundred fathoms of wampum as an

indemnity for the murder, which Kieft refused, demanding the immediate surrender of the murderer. The sachems pleaded that he was the son of a chief, and that he had gone two days' journey off, among the Tankitekes, whence it was impossible to retake him. "Why do you sell brandy to our young men?" said they; "they are not used to it, and it makes them crazy. Even your own men, who are used to it, get drunk sometimes, and fight with knives. Sell no more fire-water to the Indians, and you will have no more murders." But this reasoning failed to satisfy the implacable director, and the sachems returned sorrowfully to Vriesendael with their slighted offering, while Kieft sent a messenger to the Tankitekes to demand the head of the fugitive.

Before the Tankitekes had time to accede to the demand of the director, they were attacked by a new foe from an unexpected quarter. A band of Mohawks made a descent upon the river Indians, and, killing and making prisoners of many, forced them to flee from their homes to seek protection from the Dutch. Hundreds of the half naked and homeless savages fled to Manhattan in the depth of winter to implore shelter from their dreaded enemies. More than a thousand encamped at Pavonia. Some, crossing to Manhattan, settled at Corlaer's Hook, where the more compassionate of the colonists supplied them with food, and counted on the occasion to inspire them with lasting gratitude and friendship for the whites. Despite the jealousies and hostilities which had so lately prevailed, the Indians were not yet estranged from the colonists. They still had a confidence in the superior power of the white man, and

this confidence might have been strengthened by judicious policy. But a different spirit prevailed in the councils of the director. At this time, there were two parties in New Amsterdam, the peace party under De Vries, and the war party, headed by Van Tienhoven. At a Shrovetide feast at the house of Jan Jansen Damen, when all were merry with wine, the host, with Adriaensen and Planck, presented a petition drawn up by Van Tienhoven to the governor, and, feigning to speak in the name of the Twelve Men, their colleagues, urged him to avenge the murder of Smits by an instant attack on the defenceless Indians whom God had thus delivered into their hands.

The proposal chimed with the wishes of the director, who, drinking a toast to the success of the enterprise, instantly dispatched a party of men under the command of Sergeant Rodolf to Pavonia, and another headed by Maryn Adriaensen to Corlaer's Hook, to destroy the unarmed savages in the name of the commonalty. It was in vain that Domine Bogardus warned Kieft against this violence, that Councillor la Montagne begged him to wait until the arrival of the next ship from Holland, and that Captain De Vries declared that hostilities could not legally be commenced without the consent of the people; for his sole reply, Kieft took De Vries aside, and showed him his soldiers, ready to cross over to Pavonia. "The order has gone forth; it cannot be recalled," said he.

At midnight, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1643, this order was executed, and one of the most terrible tragedies enacted that ever disgraced the annals of a

civilized nation. The Indians, surprised in the midst of their slumbers, were slaughtered without resistance. Chief and warrior, mother and child, old and young, all met the same fate—all were dispatched by the muskets of their enemies, or driven into the river to perish there. Eighty Indians were slaughtered at Pavonia. So sudden was the attack that they knew not who were their murderers, and died believing themselves slain by the Mohawks. The humane De Vries sat by the kitchen fire at the director's, listening mournfully to the shrieks of the victims that were wafted across the river from Pavonia, when an Indian and squaw who had escaped in a canoe from the scene of the massacre, rushed into the house to implore his protection. "The Fort Orange Indians have fallen upon us ; we come to hide ourselves in the fort," said they. "It is no time to hide yourselves in the fort ; no Indians have done this deed," answered De Vries, pityingly. "It is the work of the Swannekens—the Dutch." And he led them from the gate, and watched them until they were hid in the shelter of the forest.

In the meantime, a similar massacre was being perpetrated at Corlaer's Hook. The party headed by Maryn Adriaensen, a noted freebooter, had fallen upon the sleeping savages, and murdered them all in cold blood. Daylight ended the tragedy, and the party returned to Fort Amsterdam in triumph, with thirty prisoners and the heads of several of their victims, where they were received with joy by the director ; and with sorrow by the citizens, who thus saw the door opened to long and bloody war. On Wilhelm Kieft rests the sole



Massacre of Indians at Pavonia.

responsibility of this atrocious deed, which was neither suggested nor sanctioned by the people of New Amsterdam.

Stimulated by the success of their neighbors, some of the settlers at New Amersfoort soon after petitioned for leave to attack the Indians in their vicinity. Restrained by the remonstrances of Bogardus and De Vries, Kieft refused his consent, on the grounds that they had always been friendly to the Dutch, *and were hard to conquer*; but added that in case they should prove hostile,

every man was at liberty to defend himself as best he could. It was not long before some demonstrations on the part of these Indians were construed into hostilities by the covetous settlers, and made the pretext for robbing them of their corn. The natives attempted to defend their property, and in the struggle lost three of their men.

Enraged at this injustice, the Long Island Indians joined with the river tribes in avenging their wrongs. Eleven tribes banded together and proclaimed open war against the colonists. The retribution was terrible. The swamps and morasses of the island were filled with lurking Indians, watching for opportunities to shoot down the colonists while at work in the fields, drive off their cattle, set fire to their houses, and rob, kill, and plunder. The peaceful and smiling country was quickly transformed into a wilderness. Men were shot down in broad daylight, and women and children carried into captivity ; fences were torn down, trees uprooted, and thrifty bouweries laid waste in the general ruin. The affrighted settlers fled within the walls of the fort, now their only place of safety. Every thicket outside concealed a foe, and no place was safe from the bullet of the subtile enemy. The settlements on Long Island, West Chester and the Jersey shores all shared the same fate. Rensselaerswyck alone escaped destruction, sheltered by the friendly Mohawks. The despairing colonists, stripped of their property and fearing for their lives, threatened to quit the fort in a body and return to Holland, and Kieft was compelled as a last resort to take them all to serve as soldiers for two months in the pay of the Company.

Amid all the horrors of this savage warfare, an incident occurred which proved that the Indians did not forget past kindness in their thirst for vengeance. De Vries had always been a firm friend of the Indians, and had enjoyed their confidence, yet his plantation at Vriesendaël did not escape the general destruction. A party of Indians made a descent upon the plantation, set fire to the barns, and destroyed the crops and cattle. The planters took refuge in the rudely fortified manor-house, and were preparing to defend their lives to the last extremity, when the Indian whose life De Vries had saved on the night of the Pavonia massacre rushed to the spot, and, telling the story, begged his countrymen to spare the life of "the good chief." The effect was magical. The grateful savages cried out to the planters that they were sorry that they had killed the cattle, but that they would let the brewery stand, though they "longed for the copper kettle to make barbs for their "arrows," and at once departed.

Kieft began to repent bitterly of his rashness. He dispatched a messenger with overtures of peace to the Long Island Indians, which were rejected with scorn. A fast was proclaimed throughout the colony. At this time, Roger Williams visited Manhattan on his way to Europe. "Before we weighed anchor," he writes, "mine eyes "saw the flames of their towns, the frights and hurries of "men, women and children, and the present removal of "all that could to Holland." Maddened by their misfortunes, the excited colonists threw all the blame on Kieft, and even talked of deposing him and sending him in chains to Holland. To shield himself from their re-

proaches, the director endeavored to throw the odium upon Adriaensen and his colleagues, as the instigators of the Pavonia massacre. Enraged at this cowardice, Adriaensen, himself almost a ruined man by the destruction of his property during the war, rushed into the presence of the governor, armed with a pistol and hanger, and attempted his life. He was quickly disarmed and sent to prison, whence, despite the open resistance of his friends, he was soon afterwards sent to Holland for trial.

Meanwhile, the spring had come, and the Indians were anxious for a cessation of hostilities that they might plant their corn for the coming season. On the 4th of March, 1643, three red men approached the fort, bearing a white flag, but none but De Vries and Jacob Olfertsen dared go forth to meet them. "Come and speak to our chief "on the sea-coast," said they. De Vries and his companion fearlessly accompanied their savage guides, who led them to Rockaway, where they found nearly three hundred Indians assembled. They passed the night in the wigwam of the chief.

At daybreak, the next morning, they were roused to attend a council of the sachems. The Indians ranged themselves in a circle, placing De Vries and his companion in the middle, and their chosen orator of the tribe arose with a bundle of sticks in his hand, and slowly addressed the strangers: "When you first came to our "coasts," said he, "you had no food; we gave you our "beans and corn, and relieved you with our oysters and "fish; and now, for recompense, you murder our people," and he laid down a stick as the first count of the

indictment. "In the beginning of your voyages, you
"left your people here with your goods ; we traded with
"them while your ships were away, and cherished them
"as the apple of your eye ; we gave them our daughters
"for companions, who have borne children ; and now you
"villainously massacre your own blood," and he laid
down another stick as the second count. Many more
still remained in his hand, but De Vries, not knowing
where the fearful catalogue would end, hastily inter-
rupting him, begged the sachems to go with him to Fort
Amsterdam, and conclude a peace with the director, to
which they consented, despite the remonstrances of their
tribes. "Are you all crazy," said the warriors, indig-
nantly, "to go to the fort where that scoundrel lives who
"has murdered your friends?" But De Vries assuring
them of safety, they said, "Upon your word, we will go,
"for you have never lied to us, like the rest of the
"Swannekens." They went, and Kieft gladly con-
cluded a treaty with them, and sent them away, loaded
with presents, entreating their mediation with the river
Indians.

With some difficulty, a truce was soon after concluded
with these ; yet it was but a hollow truce. The natives
were still smarting beneath a sense of their wrongs ; they
grumbled at the insufficiency of their presents, and mut-
tered words of ominous meaning, while the whites were
distrustful of their terrible neighbors, and lived in con-
stant fear of midnight assault, so that the peace was even
more fearful than the war. "Our people are con-
"tinually crying for vengeance ; we can pacify our
"young men no longer," said a friendly sachem sadly at

midsummer, as he warned De Vries in behalf of his countrymen against venturing alone in the woods, lest some stranger Indian might kill their favorite.

The words of the sachem were soon fulfilled. In August, the war broke out anew. Several trading-boats were attacked on the North River, nine men were killed, and a woman and two children carried away into captivity. In this emergency, Kieft again summoned the people together, and eight men were chosen by the popular voice to advise with the governor in respect to the war. This second representative body consisted of Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Jan Jansen Damen, Barent Dirksen, Abraham Pietersen, Isaac Allerton, Thomas Hall, Gerrit Wolfertsen, and Cornelis Melyn. Their first act was to expel from the board Jan Jansen Damen, who had been one of the prime instigators of the massacre of Pavonia, and to appoint Jan Evertsen Bout in his stead, after which they resolved to preserve peace with the Long Island Indians, but to renew hostilities with the river tribes.

Preparations were immediately made to carry on the war with renewed energy. The colonists were mustered and drilled, and to prevent the English colonists from leaving the province, fifty were taken into the Company's pay, the commonalty having agreed to meet one-third of the expense. The command of this detachment was intrusted to Captain John Underhill, who had lately removed from New Amsterdam to Stamford.

The colony seemed, indeed, in a hopeless condition. One after another of the outside settlements fell a prey to the fury of the savages. The Weckquaesgeek Indians,

joining in the strife, fell on the plantation of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson, at Annie's Hook, and murdered her with her whole family, with the exception of one grand-daughter, a child, whom they carried into captivity. Proceeding thence, they laid waste the other plantations in West Chester, killing, burning, and destroying all before them. At Gravesend, they attacked the settlement of Lady Deborah Moody, who, having been expelled from Salem as an Anabaptist, had established herself there by Kieft's permission, with others of her persuasion. The heroic woman, with her friends, made a brave defence, and finally repulsed the savage invaders. Not equally fortunate was the larger settlement of Doughty, at Mespath, which was destroyed, while the colonists were forced to flee for safety to Manhattan. The settlements on New Jersey fell a prey to the Indians, and little remained to the Dutch save the small colony at Manhattan. Five or six farmhouses were still standing on the upper part of the island, but these were hourly threatened with destruction. The only place of safety was the fort, around which the women and children huddled in straw huts, while their husbands and fathers defended its walls. And these defenders were but few ; all the men that could be mustered were about two hundred, besides fifty or sixty soldiers in garrison, and a handful of Englishmen ; and with these, it was necessary to keep a constant guard, and to repel the attacks of seven tribes, numbering fifteen hundred well-armed men. The cattle had been gathered into the fort, where they were starving for want of food. De Vries, the only white man in whom the Indians had confidence, set sail for Holland, a ruined man, reproaching Kieft in

his last words, with the ruin that had resulted from his reckless cruelty.

In this extremity, the council of Eight Men invoked the aid of the colonists at New Haven, but their request was unheeded. The English professed to doubt the justice of the quarrel; it may be, too, that they were well satisfied that the Indians should do the work they wished done, and exterminate the Dutch from the face of the New World. Foiled in this quarter, the Eight Men addressed an earnest appeal to the government at Holland, and set about organizing a desperate defence. Expeditions were dispatched against the Indian villages; their corn was destroyed, and their wigwams levelled to the ground. But here, instead of simply acting on the defensive, they darkened the story of the war with another act of bloody cruelty.

In the beginning of the year 1644, a colony of English emigrants, headed by Robert Fordham, had settled at Heemstede on Long Island, after securing a grant of land from the Dutch government. Penhawitz, the sachem of the Canarsee tribe in the vicinity, had ever shown himself a firm friend of the whites; but in this time of general distrust, the English suspected him of treacherous designs, and conveyed information of their suspicions to the governor at Fort Amsterdam. Without waiting to ascertain the truth of the charge, Kieft at once dispatched a detachment of a hundred and twenty men under the command of La Montagne, Cook and Underhill with orders to exterminate the Canarsees. The party proceeded in three yachts to Cow Bay, where they landed, and dividing their forces, marched upon

the two Indian villages at Mespath and Heemstede. The Indians, taken by surprise, fell an easy prey to their enemies. One hundred and twenty were killed and two taken prisoners, while of the assailants but one was killed and three wounded. The prisoners were conveyed in triumph to Fort Amsterdam, where they were put to death with the most excruciating tortures. The one fell dead in the fort while dancing the death dance beneath the knives of his more than savage victors ; the other was beheaded on a millstone in Beaver Lane, near the Battery.

Encouraged by this bloody success, the governor dispatched Underhill with a hundred and fifty men on a new expedition against the Connecticut Indians. He landed at Greenwich, and, after marching all day in the snow, arrived at midnight at the Indian village. This consisted of three rows of wigwams, nestling in a nook of the mountain which protected them from the north winds. The night was clear, and the full moon, shining on the snow, gave it all the brightness of a winter's day. This time, the Indians were not sleeping, but were merrily celebrating one of their annual festivals. In the midst of their festivity, the Dutch surrounded the village, and charged upon them, sword in hand. The Indians made a desperate resistance, but in vain ; every attempt to break the line of their foes failed, and in an hour, the snow was dyed with the blood of a hundred and eighty of their number. Having forced all the Indians into the wigwams, Underhill determined to terminate the battle by setting fire to the village. Straw and wood were quickly heaped about the houses, the pile was kindled, and in a few moments, the whole village was in flames.

Men, women and children were shot down as they rushed from the burning huts, or forced back again to perish there. Between five and six hundred perished by fire and sword, and but eight escaped to tell the fearful tale to their countrymen. Not a single man of the assailants was killed, though fifteen were wounded. The victors kindled large fires and slept on the field of battle. The next morning, they set out for Fort Amsterdam, which they entered in triumph, three days after. They were received with open arms, and a public thanksgiving was proclaimed in gratitude for the victory. This battle is supposed to have taken place on Strickland's Plain, within three miles of Greenwich.

This victory practically terminated the war—a war which began and ended in massacre, which very nearly destroyed the youthful colony, and which was carried on by the governor against the wishes of the people. In April, 1644, the chiefs of the Long Island and several of the river tribes, appeared at the fort and pledged themselves to peace. But the tribes nearest Manhattan Island continued hostile until the following year, when the Mohawks interposed in favor of the Dutch. On the 30th of August, 1645, the sachems of all the hostile tribes assembled on the Bowling Green, and, smoking the calumet of peace, pledged themselves to eternal friendship with the whites. The 6th of September was appointed as a day of general thanksgiving, and the war was at an end.

And it was time. The war had lasted but two years, yet the island was almost depopulated. Scarcely a hundred men were left in Manhattan. The cattle and farms

were all destroyed, and the neighboring settlements levelled to the ground. The fort, which had originally been nothing more than a bank of earth with corners of stone, was crumbling into ruins. The stone church which had been commenced in 1642 remained unfinished, the money that had been raised for the support of a school had been expended for the troops, and the English auxiliaries were yet unpaid. Other expenses, too, had been incurred in providing for the safety of the city. In the spring of 1644, a strong fence had been built through Wall street, for the protection of the few cattle that yet remained to the settlers; and this fence, which was afterwards extended and strengthened, continued to serve as the wall of the city for the ensuing fifty years, and gave its name to the street which stands now as the monetary wall of the metropolis. The Company, crippled by the expenses of their military operations in the Brazils, were utterly powerless to render them any assistance, and a bill which Kieft had drawn on them the preceding summer for 2,622 guilders was returned protested. To meet this emergency, Kieft again convened the assembly of the Eight Men, and proposed to levy an excise on wine, beer, brandy and beaver. This was bitterly opposed by the representatives of the people, both on account of the impoverished state of the city, and because it transcended his rights as a subordinate officer of the Company. Their remonstrances were of no avail; the tax was imposed by the unyielding director.

Just at this juncture, a hundred and three Dutch soldiers who had been expelled from Brazil by the Portuguese insurrection, arrived at Manhattan. These had

been sent by Petrus Stuyvesant, the governor of Curaçoa, to aid the colonists in the war with the Indians. On the arrival of these troops, the English auxiliaries were civilly dismissed, and the new comers were billeted on the citizens. But they were destitute of clothing, and to meet this exigency, the director ordered that the excise duties, which had been provisionally imposed, should be continued. The brewers, upon whom this tax fell most heavily, made a sturdy resistance. They were summoned before the council, a judgment was rendered against them, and their beer was given as a prize to the soldiers.

Indignant at this bold violation of their rights, on the 28th of October, the council of the Eight Men addressed a memorial to the Company, demanding the recall of Kieft, whom they charged with the whole blame of the war, and petitioning that the people might be allowed a voice in the municipal government. This document reflected severely on Kieft, who had already sent to the directors his own version of the war, together with a book and drawings, descriptive of the province. This, they quaintly assured the Company, had as many lies as lines in it. "And besides," they continued, "in respect to the animals and geography of New Netherland, it would be well to inquire how the director-general can write so aptly about those distances and habits, since his honor, during the six or seven years that he has been here, has constantly resided on the Manhattans, and has never been further from his kitchen and his bedroom than the middle of the afore-said island." This memorial was referred to the

Assembly of Nineteen, who at once determined upon Kieft's recall. Being undecided as to a successor, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, the schout fiscal who had been so unceremoniously dismissed eight years before by Van Twiller, was appointed to take charge of the government provisionally. Before he had embarked, however, to repair to his new post, the Company made choice of Petrus Stuyvesant, the ex-governor of Curaçoa, for director-general. Van Dincklagen's appointment was therefore revoked, and that of vice-director or first councillor of the province given him instead.

This done, new regulations were made for the government of the province. Peace with the Indians was strenuously insisted on, and Kieft and his council were required to repair to Holland to defend their conduct in the late war. The annual salary of the director was fixed at three thousand, and the expense of the civil and military establishment of the province at twenty thousand guilders. The director, vice-director and schout were to constitute the council, and to have supreme authority in civil and military affairs; in criminal cases, in which the schout was compelled to act as public prosecutor, the military commandant took his place in the council, and two representatives were added from the people. Fort Amsterdam was immediately to be repaired with "good clay, and firm sods," and a permanent garrison of fifty-three men to be maintained in it; and the colonists were counselled to provide themselves with weapons and to form a provincial militia. The director was ordered to use every effort to procure the planting and settlement of the island of Manhattan, and to encourage the intro-

duction of as many negroes as the colonists would purchase at a fair price. All restrictions were removed from trade, with the sole proviso that New Amsterdam should remain the only port of entry.

But we have anticipated events in the course of our history. The first act of Kieft after the close of the Indian war was to purchase, in behalf of the Company, the tract of land on Long Island now known as New Utrecht. This purchase was made on the 10th of September, 1641. The following month, Thomas Harrington, with several other Englishmen, Anabaptist refugees from Massachusetts, obtained a patent for sixteen thousand acres of land, lying east of Mespeth, and founded the settlement of Flushing. Soon after, Kieft gave to Lady Moody, her son, and two English officers, a patent including the town of Gravesend, with the most liberal civil and religious privileges, as a tribute of admiration for her gallant defence against her savage assailants.

Not equally fortunate was Thomas Doughty, the Anabaptist minister and ex-proprietor of Mespeth, whose settlement had been destroyed during the Indian war. A dispute having arisen between him and his associates, the director and council decided the case against him and took the control of the colony out of his hands; and upon his threatening to appeal to the court of Holland, fined him twenty-five guilders, and imprisoned him twenty-four hours for contumacy. Soon after, Arnoldus Van Hardenburg, a merchant of New Amsterdam, appealed in the like manner from a decree of confiscation, and was subjected to the same penalty. This refusal of the right of appeal excited the indignation of the people, who

murmured at the despotic conduct of the director, and declared that "under a king they could not be worse treated." The rumor of his speedy recall reached the colony, and emboldened them in their rebellion. Domine Bogardus, whom Kieft had accused of drunkenness, joined in the cry, and denounced him from the pulpit in no measured terms. To this, Kieft retorted by absenting himself from church, and ordering cannon to be fired and drums to be beaten about the house during the sermon-time to annoy the domine. Nothing daunted, the intrepid clergyman continued his anathemas, and Kieft at length arraigned him to appear before the court within fourteen days to answer to a charge of sedition; but after considerable wrangling, the proceedings were finally quashed by the interference of mutual friends.

On the 11th of May, 1647, these domestic dissensions were ended by the arrival of Petrus Stuyvesant, the newly appointed director, Vice-director Van Dincklagen, Fiscal Van Dyck, and a number of officers, soldiers and colonists. The whole city turned out in arms to meet him, firing salutes, and uttering shouts of joy, mingled with deep execrations of the late director. "I shall govern you as a father does his children," answered Stuyvesant, in return to this spontaneous welcome.

Petrus Stuyvesant, a native of Friesland, had formerly been director of the Company's colony at Curaçoa, whence, having lost a leg in an attack on the Portuguese settlement at Saint Martin's, he had been obliged to return to Europe for surgical aid. Having regained his health, and replaced his leg by a wooden one with silver bands, which gave rise to the tradition that he

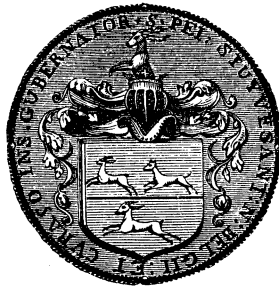


A large, stylized handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "P. Stuyvesant".

Petrus Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch Governors.

wore a silver leg, he received the appointment of director-general of the province of New Netherland, still retaining his command of Curaçoa and the adjacent islands. He was brave and energetic, and the man of all others best calculated to retrieve the fallen fortunes of the colony. But he was also haughty, imperious, and impa-

tient of contradiction, and his despotic love of power soon weakened the affection with which the citizens greeted him on his first arrival. But, with all his faults, he was the man for the times, and his firm and vigorous rule contrasts well with the ill-judged and capricious conduct of his predecessor. Though sworn by the duties of his office to execute the commands of the West India Company, he was at heart attached to the interests of the people, with whom he identified himself after the forced surrender of the city, by taking up his residence among them as a private citizen, the ancestor of a long line of prominent men, which has reached down even unto the present day.



Seal of Petrus Stuyvesant.

Stuyvesant set vigorously to work to reform abuses. His first act was to organize his council, which consisted of Van Dincklagen, Van Dyck, Adriaen Keyser and Bryan Newton, with La Montagne as councillor and Van Tienhoven as secretary. Paulus Van der Grist was appointed equipage-master, and George Baxter was retained as English secretary. This done, he set about the work of regulating the streets and improving the city. Van

Dincklagen, Van der Grist and Van Tienhoven were appointed fence-viewers to regulate the erection of new buildings; proprietors of vacant lots were directed to improve them within nine months, and hog-pens and out-houses were ordered to be removed from the highways. The church still remained unfinished, and Stuyvesant, who had become a member of the Consistory, took the work of its completion into his own hands. Bogardus resigned his charge in order to proceed to Holland to answer the charges preferred against him by Van Dincklagen, and Johannes Backerus, the former clergyman of Curaçoa, was appointed in his place at a salary of fourteen hundred guilders per annum. Drunkenness and profanity were strictly forbidden, no liquors were permitted to be sold to the Indians, and strict laws were passed for the protection of the revenue. The obnoxious duties upon beer, brandy and beaver were not removed; far from this, a new excise was levied upon wines and other liquors, and the export duties upon peltries were still further increased. This proceeding excited some discontent among the people, who had looked to the coming of the new director to remove this hateful duty.

Another cause of disaffection soon arose in the colony. Kuyter and Melyn, the leading members of the council of Eight Men, petitioned that the administration of Kieft during the period of the Indian war might be made the subject of inquiry. The petition was rejected by the director, who saw in it a dangerous precedent for the assumption of power by the people; and the petitioners were ordered in turn to be examined as to the origin of the Indian war, and to state whether their demand had

been authorized by the government or the commonalty ; as, otherwise, they must return to Holland with Kieft, to substantiate their complaints before the States General. Emboldened by this decision, Kieft accused them of being the authors of a calumnious memorial to the Assembly of Nineteen, and, on this ground, demanded their banishment. The accusation was accepted, and an indictment preferred, charging Melyn and Kuyter with having fraudulently procured the signatures of the Eight Men to the calumnious memorial of the 28th of October, 1644, unauthorized by the commonalty. In addition to this, Melyn was accused of rebellious conduct, while Kuyter was charged with urging the mortgage of Manhattan to the English, and threatening Kieft with personal violence.

Both Melyn and Kuyter defended themselves vigorously against these accusations. They declared that the memorial had been written by the authority of the Eight Men, and in the name of the commonalty ; that the charges in it could be fully substantiated ; and that the destruction of fifty or sixty bouweries and the murder of numerous colonists furnished ample cause for its transmission. Melyn confessed that he had proposed that the island of Manhattan should be pledged to the English as a measure of necessity. But their defence availed them little ; Stuyvesant and his council, fearing the encroachments of the people, espoused the cause of Kieft, and Melyn was sentenced to seven years' banishment, and to pay a fine of three hundred and fifty guilders ; while Kuyter was sentenced to three years' banishment, and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders ; one-third

of the money to be given to the poor, one-third to the church, and one-third to the fiscal. The heavier punishment of Melyn was imputed by many to a private revenge on the part of Kieft, with whom the former had refused to share his grant on Staten Island.

Both Kuyter and Melyn were placed as criminals on board the ship *Princess*, then ready to return to Holland. Kieft accompanied his victims with his ill-got fortune ; and Domine Bogardus and Van der Huyghens, the late schout fiscal, were also of the company. But the ill-fated vessel struck on a rock on the coast of Wales, and went to the bottom, carrying with her Kieft, Bogardus, a son of Melyn, and eighty others. But twenty were saved ; among whom were Kuyter and Melyn. The rich cargo of furs, valued at a hundred thousand dollars, was irretrievably lost. The news of the tragical end of the director excited but little sympathy at New Amsterdam, while the New England settlers affected to regard it as a special mark of the wrath of God against their enemies. The sentence against Kuyter and Melyn was afterwards reversed by the Company, and they returned with honor to New Amsterdam.

To complete the proposed improvements, money was necessary. But the treasury was empty, the taxes came in slowly, and the colonists murmured grievously at being taxed without their consent. Embarrassed by the difficulties of his position, Stuyvesant at length consented to concede a representation, and in August, 1647, called an election at which the inhabitants of Manhattan, Breuckelen, New Amersfoort and Pavonia chose eighteen men, from whom nine were selected by the director and

council to advise with them in matters relating to the welfare of the province. This new house of representatives consisted of Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus Van Hardenburg, Govert Loockermans, Jan Jansen Damen, Jacob Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven, Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, Michael Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Thomas Hall ; three of whom were to have seats in the council in turn on the usual weekly court day, and to act as arbitrators in civil cases. Six of the board were to be succeeded annually by six others, elected by the director and council from among twelve chosen by the people at the election on the last day of December.

The Nine Men at once commenced their deliberations in respect to the proposed repairs of the fort and city. Stuyvesant offered on the part of the Company to defray a part of the expense of a school, and to furnish one of the government houses for its temporary accommodation, but insisted that the people should repair the fort for their own security. This, the Nine Men refused, as the Company had bound itself by its charter to keep the fort in a posture of defence. They offered, however, to repair the church and to reorganize the school without delay, and after some hesitation this proposition was acceded to, and the repairs commenced forthwith.

In 1648, Adriaen Keyser, Thomas Hall, Martin Krigier and George Woolsey, were appointed fire wardens to inspect the houses in the city. The owners of all chimneys, condemned by them as foul, were to pay a fine of three guilders. If a house should be burned by the owner's carelessness, he was to pay a fine of twenty-five guilders. These fines were to be appropriated to the

purchase of ladders, hooks and buckets, to be deposited at different places throughout the city. The public wells were in the middle of the streets, and the water was passed from them in buckets through long rows of citizens to the scene of the fire. It was not until several years after, however, that these buckets were actually provided. Every Monday was fixed as a market-day, and an annual fair for ten days, commencing on the Monday after St. Bartholomew's Day, was established. Various laws for the regulation of trade and immigration were enacted, and new ordinances were passed, forbidding the sale of fire-arms and ammunition to the Indians. So earnest were the council in this latter prohibition, that Jacob Reintsen, with Jacob Schermerhorn and his brother, being convicted soon after of violating it, were sentenced to death; a sentence which was afterwards commuted, through the intercession of their friends, to the confiscation of their goods. In 1649, an order was established for the regulation of weights and measures, the Amsterdam standard being adopted. The same year, a dispute arising between Domine Backerus and the director, the domine obtained permission to return to Holland; and Domine Megapolensis, the ex-minister of Rensselaerswyck, was installed as his successor. The following year, Dirck Van Schelluyne, the first lawyer, commenced practice in the city.

In the meantime, outside difficulties had been pressing heavily upon the director. The dispute between the Dutch and English, in respect to the territory of the Fresh River, together with Long Island, was still pend-

ing, and as a last resort, Stuyvesant repaired in person to the scene of the contest. After a long negotiation, it was finally decided to submit the case to two delegates from each side, to be subject to their decision. These arbitrators assigned to New England, all the eastern portion of Long Island, comprising the present Suffolk County. On the mainland, the boundary was to begin at the west side of Greenwich Bay, to run northerly twenty miles into the country, but in no case to approach within ten miles of the Mauritius River. The Dutch were left in possession of their territory at Fort Good Hope, and no disposition was made in respect to South River.

The people were dissatisfied with an arrangement which ceded so large a portion of their territory to their enemies, and loudly accused the director of injustice. Both the arbitrators appointed by him had been Englishmen; and this displeased the colonists, who claimed that their wishes had not been represented in the treaty, and complained to the Company that the director had surrendered territory enough to form fifty colonies, and had taken Englishmen into his confidence instead of his legal counsellors. They also petitioned for a municipal government, like that of the independent cities of the Fatherland. This had been granted to Breuckelen some time before. On the 26th of November, 1646, a charter had been conferred upon the little village, then situate nearly a mile distant from the water's edge, granting to the inhabitants the right of electing two schepens, or magistrates, with full judicial powers. These were subordinate to a schout, who was

in turn, subordinate to the schout fiscal of Manhattan. These liberal privileges naturally excited the envy of their brethren across the river, who claimed similar rights for themselves. On the 4th of April, 1652, their petition was granted by the Company, and a "burgher government" established at Manhattan. This consisted of a schout, to be appointed by the Company, and two burgomasters and five schepens, to be elected by the people ; who were to form a municipal Court of Justice, subject to the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the province. At the same time, the States General ordered Stuyvesant to repair at once to Holland, to give an account of his administration ; but, yielding to the remonstrances of the Amsterdam chamber, were at length persuaded to revoke their recall. Domine Drisius was appointed as assistant to Megapolensis, and La Montagne took charge of the school.

The city thus received its first incorporation. Cornelis Van Tienhoven was elected schout ; Arent Van Hatten and Martin Krigier, burgomasters ; and Paulus Van der Grist, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Wilhelm Beekman* and Pieter Van Couwenhoven, schepens. The stone tavern at Coenties' Slip was converted into a "stadt huys" or city-hall ; and the magistrates held their court there every Monday morning, beginning at nine and closing at twelve.

In the autumn of 1652, the settlements of Middleburgh and Midwout, now Newtown and Flatbush, were founded under patents from Stuyvesant. In the same year, a war

* Emigrated from Holland with Stuyvesant in 1647.

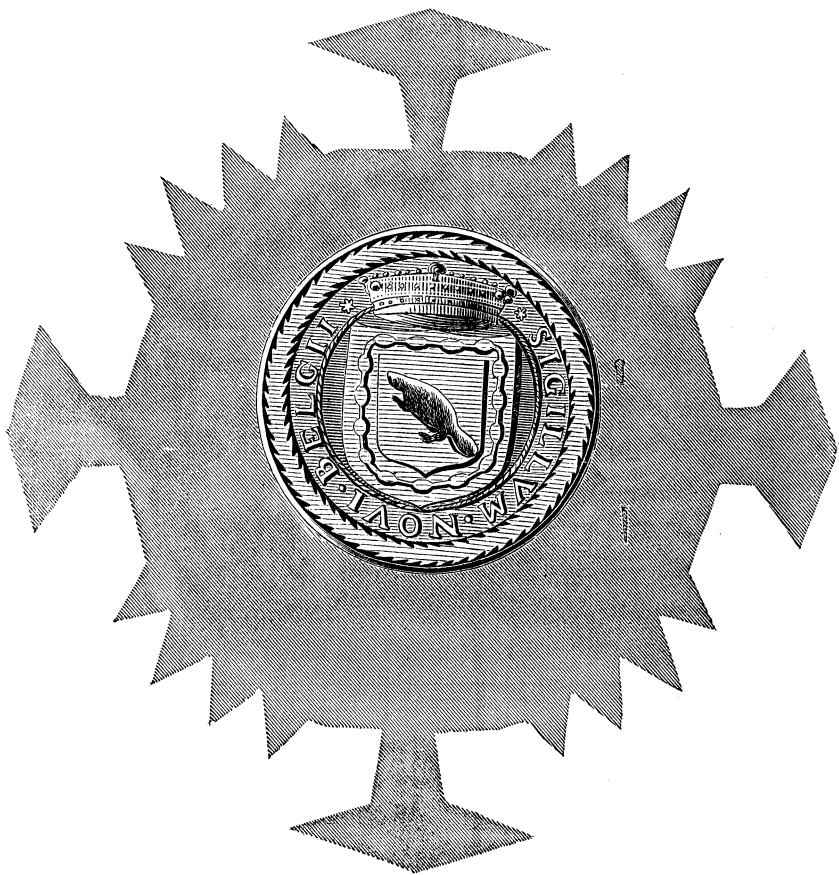
broke out between England and Holland, and the citizens, fearing an attack from their New England neighbors, set to work to fortify the city. The fence that had been erected along the line of Wall street during the late war for the protection of the cattle, was converted into a ditch and palisades with a breast-work, and extended from river to river. The fort was also strengthened, and the whole body of citizens were ordered to mount guard every night. Grateful for the concessions which had just been made them, the citizens promptly raised the six thousand guilders which were needed for the completion of the fortifications, and set to work themselves, pick and shovel in hand, to dig the trenches and erect the palisades. During the whole summer, the citizens remained under arms, expecting an attack ; nor were their fears unfounded. The settlers of New England took advantage of this opportunity to break the late treaty, and to endeavor to further their plans for the ultimate conquest of New Netherland. Their first step was to accuse Stuyvesant of having plotted with the Narragansett Indians for ~~the destruction~~ of the English. The sachems themselves denied all knowledge of such a plot, and Stuyvesant indignantly demanded an investigation of the matter. Three delegates were accordingly appointed to visit New Amsterdam, and receive depositions; but little was accomplished by this negotiation, and the delegates returned to Boston with small proof of the accusation. On Long Island, Captain Underhill, turning against his late allies, endeavored to stir up the colonists to revolt, but without effect. The commissioners of the United Colonies, who still professed to believe in the reality of the plot, urged

immediate hostilities against the Dutch, but the General Court of Massachusetts refused to take part in the war, and thus prevented the accomplishment of the design. Eager for the conquest of the Dutch province, the other colonies persisted in their purpose, and by their representations, induced Cromwell to send an expedition against New Amsterdam. Before it arrived, peace was proclaimed between England and Holland. The news was received with joy in the city ; bells were rung and cannon fired, and the 12th of July, 1654, was set apart as a day of general thanksgiving.

In the meantime, a continual contest had been going on between the people and the director, and to replenish his exhausted treasury, the latter had been compelled to surrender to the city the obnoxious excise on beer and liquors. But this failed to satisfy the burgomasters and schepens, who, on the 24th of December, 1653, addressed a letter to the Company, entreating that New Amsterdam might enjoy equal municipal privileges with her namesake in Holland. They demanded that the schout should be chosen by the people, instead of being, as heretofore, the Company's fiscal ; and that as the city was compelled to defray its own expenses, the excise should go into the city treasury, and power should be conferred upon the municipal authorities to levy taxes, and to lease the ferry between Long Island and New Amsterdam. They also demanded that the city should have a seal and a *stadt huys* of its own, and should have full authority to sell and convey lands, and to regulate its local affairs ; and that fixed salaries should be granted to the magistrates. In the spring of 1654, a portion of

their demands was reluctantly granted. The office of schout was separated from that of the Company's fiscal; but the directors still retained the power of appointment in their own hands. The municipal authorities were granted the use of the stadthuys, which had hitherto been wholly under the control of the provincial government; they were permitted to pay the public salaries out of the excise, and to levy taxes with the consent of the commonalty and the provincial government; and to sell and convey lands within the limits of the city. No one was permitted to ferry across the river without a license from the magistrates. The ferryman was required to keep proper servants and boats, and a house on both sides the river for the accommodation of passengers, and to pass all officials free of toll. On the other hand, he was not compelled to ferry anything without prepayment, or to cross the river in a tempest. On the 10th of October of the same year, an ordinance was passed by the city authorities, regulating the rates of ferriage at three stuyvers each for foot passengers, except Indians, who paid six each, unless there were two or more. On the 19th of March, 1658, the ferry was put up at auction, and leased to Hermanus Van Borsum for three years, at three hundred guilders a year. The annual salary of the burgo-masters was fixed at three hundred and fifty, and that of the schepens at two hundred and fifty guilders. A seal*

* This seal is thus described by E. B. O. Callaghan, Esq., to whom we are indebted for this information:—" *Argent* per pale; three crosses saltire; *Crest*, a Beaver proper, surmounted by a mantle, on which is a shield or, bearing the letters G.W.C. (Geoeoetroyerde West Indische Compagnie). Under the base of the arms are the words, SIGILLUM AMSTELLODAMENSIS IN NOVO BELGIO:—the Seal of Amsterdam in New Netherland. The whole is encircled with a wreath of laurel."—See cut on p. 52.



Seal of New Netherland, 1623-1664.—(This seal is referred to on page 52.)

was also granted to the city, which was received and publicly delivered on the 8th of the next December by the Director to Martin Krigier, the presiding burgomaster. Jochem Pietersen Kuyter was appointed schout by the Company, as many supposed, to make amends for the harsh usage he had formerly received from the hands of their officer. But he was murdered by the Indians before the arrival of his commission, and Fiscal

Van Tienhoven was continued in the office by Stuyvesant, despite the discontent of the burghers.

Much dissatisfaction also prevailed in the settlements on Long Island, and on the 10th of December, 1653, a Landttag or Diet, composed of delegates from New Amsterdam, Breuckelen, Midwout, Middleburgh, Heemstede, Amersfoordt, Flushing and Gravesend assembled in the city. These delegates addressed a remonstrance to the governor, complaining of the arbitrary enactment of laws and appointment of officers, and the partial distribution of lands ; and demanding for the people a direct share in the government. This proceeding deeply offended the director, who regarded it as an encroachment upon his prerogative, and he angrily dissolved the assembly. Upon this, the delegates protested to the Company ; and the English settlers, who were notoriously disaffected, and were even suspected of conspiring with the freebooters who infested the shores, grew so turbulent, that, to counteract their influence, Stuyvesant determined to increase the power of the Dutch villages by giving them the privileges they desired. Breuckelen had two schepens already ; two more were now added, and David Provoost was appointed her first separate schout. Midwout and Amersfoordt also received a municipal government. The Company, on their part, treated the protest with scorn, and ordered Stuyvesant to crush all such insolent pretensions.

Hitherto, the minister at New Amsterdam had also officiated occasionally on Long Island. But, as the settlements increased, the colonists demanded a settled minister, and, in 1654, the first church on Long Island

was built at Midwout or Flatbush, and Domine Johannes Polhemus, who had just arrived from Brazil, was installed at a salary of six hundred guilders. In this church, he preached every Sunday morning, preaching in the afternoons alternately at Breuckelen and Amersfoort, until 1660, when Domine Henry Selyns was installed as minister of the church at the former place. At the same time of the erection of the church at Midwout, the Lutherans determined to build a church at New Amsterdam. But Stuyvesant, who was a zealous Calvinist, refused them permission, and the Company, influenced by the representations of the Classis and the clergy of the Reformed Dutch Church, supported him in the refusal, on the ground that so dangerous a precedent would soon be followed by the other dissenting sects, and thus destroy the established religion of the province. This was the first manifestation of religious bigotry in New Netherland.

At this juncture, trouble broke out in a new quarter. In 1650, Stuyvesant had built Fort Casimir near the mouth of the Brandywine River, about five miles distant from the Swedish fort Christina, for the purpose of protecting the Dutch commerce from the encroachments of the Swedes. This territory, the Swedes claimed as their own, and in 1654, Rising, their governor, took possession of the fort, disarmed the garrison, and changed its name from Casimir to Trinity—the capture having been made on Trinity Sunday. Indignant at this outrage, Stuyvesant seized the *Golden Shark*, a Swedish ship which had entered Sandy Hook Bay by mistake, took possession of her cargo, and brought the factor a prisoner to Fort Amsterdam; then invited the Swedish gover-

nor to visit him at Manhattan to adjust differences, promising him courteous treatment and a safe return. This invitation was peremptorily refused by the Swede, upon which Stuyvesant dispatched an account of the affair to his superiors, and demanded instructions as to further proceedings. The Swedish rule was now broken in Europe, and the government, having no longer any reason for temporizing, at once directed the governor not only to avenge the insult, but to drive the Swedes from every part of the river. The command accorded well with the warlike spirit of Stuyvesant. All the military force of the colony was at once mustered for the enterprise, and on the 5th of September, 1655, he sailed with seven vessels and six or seven hundred men to attack the Swedish colony at Fort Christina. The enterprise was successful; and the forts were forced to surrender. The Swedes were compelled either to evacuate the country or to swear allegiance to the Dutch government; Rising was sent to Europe, and a Dutch commandant was placed in charge of the conquered territory.

The Indians had always been friendly under the pacific rule of Stuyvesant. In the ten years that had rolled away since the Indian war, their former hostility had almost been forgotten, and when Stuyvesant sailed for New Sweden, leaving the settlement defenceless, no one thought of danger from the natives. But, a short time before, the ex-fiscal, Hendrick Van Dyck, had shot a squaw whom he had detected in stealing peaches from his orchard, just below Rector street; and the murder had not been forgotten by her tribe, who now seized the opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the unprotected

settlers. On the 15th of September, sixty-four canoes, containing nearly two thousand armed warriors, landed before daybreak at Fort Amsterdam, and spread themselves over the town, telling the startled burghers that they came in search of some Indians from the north, who had secreted themselves there. The pretext did not deceive the citizens, but by friendly words and promises, they succeeded in keeping their savage visitors quiet, and finally persuaded them to leave the town at sunset and cross over to Governor's Island. They returned in the evening, and shot Van Dyck, the offender, in the breast with an arrow. Van der Grist was also struck down with an axe. The people were roused to a desperate defence, and hastily rallying together, they assaulted the savages, and drove them to their canoes. It was only to change the scene of destruction. Crossing the North River, they recommenced their bloody work at Hoboken and Pavonia, slaughtering men, women and children without mercy, and burning the houses, barns and crops. Thence, they crossed over to Staten Island, which they quickly laid waste. In three days, one hundred of the settlers were killed, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Twenty-eight bouweries with their cattle and crops were destroyed ; and the losses of the colonists were computed at two hundred thousand guilders.

The whole country was aroused. From all sides, the terrified farmers flocked to the fort for safety. The settlements on Long Island were threatened with destruction, and bands of Indians prowled over the island, capturing or killing every colonist that chanced to fall in

their way. An express was at once dispatched to the director, who quickly returned to the terror-struck city.

But his policy differed widely from that of the headstrong Kieft. While he used every precaution to protect the colonists from the attacks of their enemies, he strove to conciliate the latter by kind words and presents, instead of incensing them still further by new provocations. In this, he was successful. The Indians, terrified by his preparations and pacified by his gifts, soon consented to release their prisoners and to treat for peace.

Peace having thus been made with both Indian and European foes, the colony began thenceforth steadily to prosper. In 1656, the first map of the city, containing seventeen streets, was drawn; and two years after, stone pavements were first laid down in Stone street. At this time, the average price of the best lots was fifty dollars. A census was taken, which enumerated a hundred and twenty houses, and one thousand inhabitants in the city of New Amsterdam. In the same year (1656) a stand for country wagons was established at the foot of Whitehall street. Provision was made to secure the shores of the East River from the washing of the tide by lining them with planks; and the wharf, which was on the line of Moore street, extending but little beyond the low water mark, was improved by an extension of fifty feet.

In the following year, an important distinction was created among the citizens by the introduction of the system of great and small burgher-rights, then in vogue in Amsterdam. This change sprung directly from the citizens themselves. For many years, peddlers had been

in the habit of bringing their goods into the province and disposing of them ; then returning to Europe with the avails of their adventure. The merchants, disliking that their trade should thus be drawn off by those who bore no part of the burdens of the colony, entreated that no persons but city burghers should be allowed to carry on business in the metropolis, and none but settled residents to trade in the interior. To meet their demands, in 1657, Stuyvesant and his council required that before selling their goods, all traders should open a store within the limits of the city, and pay to the municipal authorities the sum of twenty guilders. This entitled them to the small burgher-right ; to which, likewise, all were entitled who were natives, or who had resided a year and six weeks in the city ; who should marry the daughters of burghers ; and all salaried officers of the Company. By paying the sum of fifty guilders, they entered the class of great burghers, which included all the provincial and municipal authorities, both present and future, together with their male descendants. All city officials were required to be chosen from the latter class, who were likewise exempt for one year from watch and military service, and free from arrest from the inferior courts. From this sprung the kindred institution under the English government of the freedom of the city.

In 1658, two hundred and fifty fire-buckets with hooks and ladders, were imported from Holland for the use of the city, and a rattle watch, consisting of eight men, was organized. All thatched roofs and wooden chimneys were ordered to be removed, and the best lots were taxed until built upon. At this time, the average

rent of the best houses was about fourteen dollars a year. A market-house, the first in the city, was erected for the sale of meat at the Bowling Green. The only school in the city had always been irregularly sustained, owing to the want of funds and a suitable school-house. Jacob Van Corlaer attempted to remedy the deficiency by opening a private school, but this was quickly interdicted by Stuyvesant, on the ground that he had received no permission from the provincial authorities. But many of the burghers were anxious to give their children a classical education, and as it was impossible to obtain this nearer than Boston, they wrote to the Company to send them a Latin teacher, promising to build a school-house at their own cost. As a further inducement, they urged that the inhabitants of the neighboring towns would likewise send their children, and that "New Amsterdam might finally thus attain to an academy, the credit of which would redound to the honor of the Company." This argument proved convincing, and the next year, Doctor Alexander Carolus Curtius was sent to them at a salary of five hundred guilders and perquisites. Curtius soon established a flourishing Latin school in the city, where he also practised as a physician. He returned to Holland two years after, and was succeeded by Domine Ægidius Luyck, the private tutor of the family of the director.

At this time, but a small part of the island was under cultivation. The greater part of it lay waste and common. The lots below Wall street were large enough for garden-plots and orchards. Every settler kept his cows, and a herdsman was appointed by the city to drive them

to the public pasture—the present Park and the land in its vicinity. Every morning, this functionary passed through the streets of the city, blowing a horn to warn the inhabitants of his approach. Collecting the cows that were turned out at the gates in a common herd, he drove them through the city gates at Wall street; then, guiding them along the crooked Pearl street, he turned them into the inclosure, and drove them back at night to their owners. As the city increased, the inhabitants built along the beaten track, which came to bear the name of “the Cow Path.”

The village was now growing into a city, and the inhabitants began to feel the need of a good road for pleasure riding. The upper part of the island was still wild and rocky, and the governor resolved to found a village there, to be called New Harlaem, and to open a good road thither from New Amsterdam. To encourage a speedy settlement, he offered to give the villagers a ferry to Long Island, with a court and clergyman of their own, as soon as they numbered twenty-five families; but few were willing to live so far in the country, and two years passed before the village was large enough to profit by his offer. In 1660, an inferior court was organized, and the village thus received a partial incorporation. In the same year, a second survey was made of the city, which was found to contain three hundred and fifty houses.

From this time the colony flourished. The wise policy of the Company induced them to use every effort to encourage emigration, and thus to increase their strength and prosperity. The strife between the people and the

governor was the principal drawback to the prosperity of the colony. The West India Company wished to rule supreme over the settlement which they had founded, and which they regarded as their own peculiar property, and Stuyvesant, their representative, was not the man to bate one jot of their pretensions. The people, on the other hand, were of the freest nation in Europe, they had lost none of their native independence in this new clime, and they demanded the right to choose their own rulers ; a demand which, step by step, they obtained. In 1660, the Company yielded the last point, and permitted them to have a schout of their own, appointed to the office by the Amsterdam chamber. Pieter Tonneman filled the office. Less religious toleration prevailed now than formerly. Stuyvesant, a fanatical Calvinist, detested all dissenters, and persecuted the Quakers for a time with rigor ; but he was soon checked in this intolerance by the commands of the Company, who, while they wished to establish the Reformed Dutch religion in the province, were anxious at the same time to preserve the spirit of religious freedom which characterized the Fatherland.

In 1661, the Company bought Staten Island from Melyn and Van de Capellen, its former owners, and made grants of land thereon to various colonists; and a small settlement was founded a few miles south of the Narrows, by several families of French Huguenots. In the same year, Jacques Cortelyou founded the settlement of New Utrecht, to which, a few months afterwards, Stuyvesant granted a village charter, as also to the village of Boswyck or Bushwick, which had been settled the year before.

Boswyck, New Utrecht, Breuckelen, Amersfoordt and Midwout were placed under the jurisdiction of a single schout, each having separate schepens of its own, and were known henceforth as the "Five Dutch Towns."

But danger was menacing the province from without. The English, who laid claim to the whole continent as having been discovered by Cabot, were slowly but surely extending their rule, while, surrounded on all sides by their colonies, and under the protection of a private trading company instead of a powerful government, New Netherland was ill prepared to defend her rights. The English had long looked with a covetous eye upon the rich possessions of their Dutch neighbors; the time had now come to attempt their conquest. Despite the threats and protests of Stuyvesant, the Dutch colonies in Delaware and Westchester and on Long Island successively fell into their hands, and he saw that they would be content with nothing less than the whole of New Netherland. It was not long before affairs reached the crisis. In 1664, Charles II. granted to his brother, James, Duke of York and Albany, a patent of the territory lying between Connecticut River and Delaware Bay, including the whole of the Dutch possessions in America, together with a part of the same territory in Connecticut which had been previously granted by him to Governor Winthrop.

Upon receiving the patent, and without giving any notice to the government of Holland, the Duke of York immediately dispatched four ships with four hundred and fifty soldiers, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, his deputy governor, to take possession of his

newly acquired territory. Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick accompanied the expedition as commissioners to visit the New England colonies. The squadron separated on the coast in a fog, the ship with the deputy governor on board put in at Boston, and the others anchored at Piscataway. Having procured supplies, they proceeded on their way, and anchored in Nyack Bay, between New Utrecht and Coney Island, in the month of August, 1664; then immediately took possession of the block-house on Staten Island, and intercepted all communication between Manhattan and the neighboring shores.

On hearing of the intended invasion, the citizens had hastily fortified the city, and increased the military force as much as they were able. But they were ill-prepared to stand a siege. Not more than four hundred men were able to bear arms, and for these there were but six hundred pounds of powder. The fort and the wall of palisades which had defended them so well against the Indians, would avail them nothing before their civilized foes. They were exposed on both rivers, and there was no hope that they could possibly resist an assault. Besides, a large proportion of the inhabitants were Englishmen, who were secretly longing for the triumph of their countrymen; while the Dutch themselves, wearied with the arbitrary exactions of the Company, fancied that good might result from a change of masters. The brave old Stuyvesant would willingly have rallied his people and stood a siege; but his efforts were in vain, the time had come for the fall of New Amsterdam.

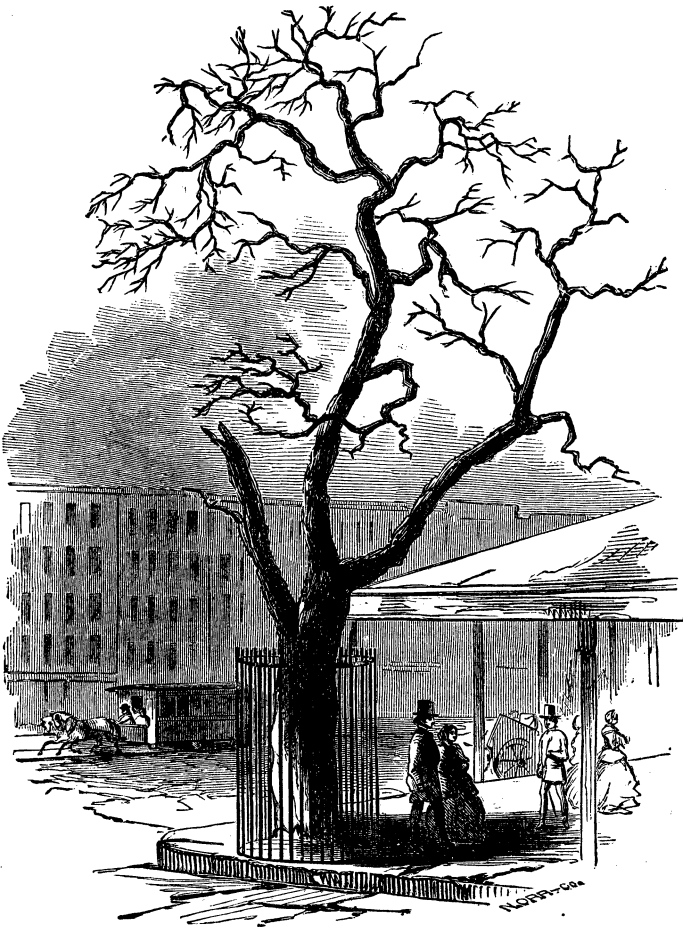
On the morning after the arrival of the squadron,

Nicolls sent a summons to the city to surrender, promising the inhabitants protection of life, liberty and property. Hastily convening the council and city authorities, Stuyvesant informed them of the summons, but refused to let the people know of the proffered terms, lest they might force him to yield the city. This the burgo-masters sharply opposed, and after an animated debate, the director was forced to accede to their wishes.

While they were thus debating the surrender, Nicolls sent another letter to Winthrop, the aged governor of Connecticut, who had joined the squadron, begging him to assure Stuyvesant that the privileges of the Hollanders should in no wise be restrained, but that they should continue to have full liberty to settle at Manhattan and to go and return thither in ships of their own country. Winthrop at once visited the city under a flag of truce, and delivered the letter to the governor, who vainly endeavored to withhold it from the people. The burgo-masters insisted that it should be publicly read, when Stuyvesant, incensed beyond all expression, tore it in pieces before their eyes. The news was soon carried to the citizens at the palisades, who, abandoning their work, rushed to the *stadt-huys*, crying, "the letter! the letter!" Resistance was in vain, and a copy was made from the carefully collected fragments and given to the people. In answer to the summons to surrender, Stuyvesant returned a long defence of the Company's right to the province; while he secretly sent his last dispatch under cover of night to Holland.

Irritated at this long delay, Nicolls landed the soldiers from two of his ships at Breuckelen to storm the city by

land. The others sailed up the bay, and anchored in front of Fort Amsterdam. With the muzzles of their loaded cannon pointed at the ships, the soldiers of Stuyvesant awaited the command to fire. It would have been the signal for the destruction of the city. Men, women, and children flocked around the director, beseeching him to desist and to surrender. "I would rather be carried out dead," was his reply. But he was at length

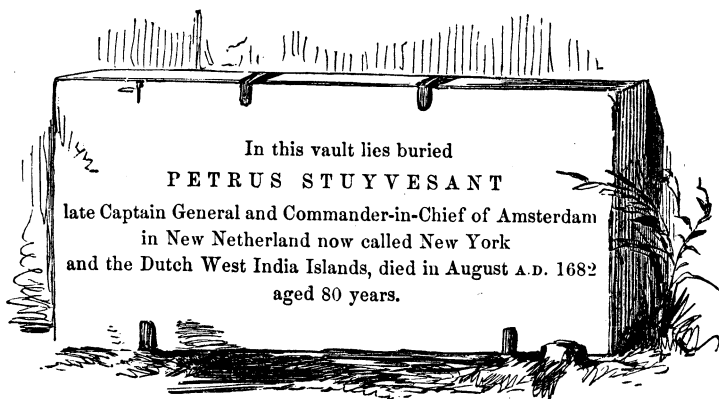


Old Stuyvesant Pear-tree in 1867.

obliged to yield. The people refused to obey his summons, the principal citizens, including his own son, implored him to submit, and at last the brave old Stuyvesant sadly consented to deliver up the fort, on condition that it should be returned again in case the difference of the boundaries should be settled by England and Holland.

On the morning of the 8th of September, 1664, Stuyvesant marched his soldiers out of Fort Amsterdam with all the honors of war. At the same time, the English troops marched in triumph into the city, and run up the English flag upon the fort, which they christened at once by the name of Fort James. Nicolls was proclaimed as deputy governor, and the city of New Amsterdam was transformed into New York.

Stuyvesant remained a resident of his beloved city, where he died and was buried in the family vault within the walls of the church which he had built at his own expense upon his extensive farm. The church is now gone, and its place is occupied by the church of St. Mark. In the outside wall of the latter, may be seen the original tablet with the following inscription :



Just without the graveyard inclosure, on the corner of Thirteenth street and Third Avenue, long stood the well-known Stuyvesant pear-tree, which had been brought from Holland in 1647, and planted by the governor's own hands in what was then his garden. At the end of February, 1867, this last relic of the Dutch dynasty, which had survived its contemporaries more than two hundred years, fell before the wind, and with it passed away all vestiges of the brave old director, Petrus Stuyvesant.*

* Governor Stuyvesant married Judith Bayard, a French refugee, by whom he had two sons, Balthazar Lazar and Nicholas William, from the younger of whom is descended the present Stuyvesant family of New York.

CHAPTER IV.

1664—1674.

New York under the English Government—Recapture of the Province by the Dutch, and subsequent Retrocession.

THE English having thus succeeded in their long-cherished project of expelling the Dutch from their American possessions, Colonel Nicolls took possession of the conquered province as deputy-governor in behalf of the Duke of York. The people, in fact, cared little for the change. They had been oppressed by the Dutch governors ; taxes had been levied on them without their consent ; they had been denied that direct share in the government which they claimed as their right, in conformity with the municipal institutions of the Fatherland ; and the few privileges which they enjoyed had been wrung with difficulty from their despotic rulers. Yet the Dutch government was at this time the most liberal of any ; but the province had been abandoned to the tender mercies of a selfish trading company, instead of being fostered by the protecting care of the States General. Besides, the English element now mingled largely in the city. The settlers who had come from New England and Virginia, retaining their predilection for their native

institutions, rejoiced in the change ; and the Dutch themselves were not greatly affected by it. Their trade with Holland was not interrupted ; they were still allowed to choose their inferior officers and to preserve their customs of inheritance ; their liberty of conscience was respected, and they were exempted from all danger of impressment, either for the army or the navy. The most oppressive grievance of which they had to complain was a law declaring all titles of land granted by the Dutch government to be invalid, and exacting large fees for their renewal.

The governor made it his policy to conciliate his new subjects, and it was not until the following year that he deemed it prudent to meddle with the form of government, and to substitute new officials for the schout, burgomaster and schepens. On the 12th of June, 1665, he issued the first English charter, since known as the Nicolls Charter, which revoked the form of the municipal government, and placed the executive power in the hands of a mayor, five aldermen and a sheriff, according to the English custom of incorporation ; said officers to be appointed by the governor. Thomas Willett was appointed mayor ; Thomas Delavall, Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt,* John Brugges, Cornelius Van Ruyven and John Lawrence, aldermen, and Allard Anthony, sheriff. Thomas Willett, the first mayor of New York city, and great-great-grandfather of Col. Marinus Willett of Revolutionary memory, who held the same office a hundred and forty-two years after, was one of the Ply-

* Emigrated from Holland in 1637.

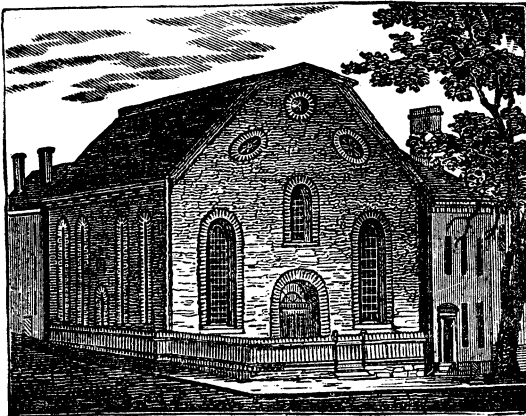
mouth Pilgrims. He had emigrated from England in 1629, and soon after engaging in trade with New Amsterdam, had purchased land in the city, and finally become a permanent resident. He was a popular man among his fellow-citizens, and this fact, joined with the judicious mingling of Dutch and English in the appointment of the other officials, disposed the people favorably towards the new government. Soon after, jury trials were established in the city. The governor retained the right to himself and his council to impose taxes and to enact or modify laws as they might deem proper. This last clause was distasteful to the people, and occasioned much complaint during his administration.

The city records were now ordered to be kept both in Dutch and English, and Nicholas Bayard* was appointed assistant clerk to the Common Council; the principal secretary, Johannes Nevius, being imperfectly versed in the English language.

At this time, the city contained about fifteen hundred inhabitants, consisting of people of every sect in the nation. The only church, however, in the city, was the stone edifice within the walls of the fort, erected by Wilhelm Kieft, in which the Dutch Reformed service had hitherto been performed. The service of the Church of England was now introduced, and Nicolls, who appears to have been a man of liberal sentiments, gave the Lutherans permission to erect a church for themselves and to send to Europe for a preacher of their own denomination, which they had sought in vain from Stuy-

* His mother was the sister of Stuyvesant.

vesant. They availed themselves of this, and built a small church in which the Rev. Jacob Fabritius, who arrived in 1669, officiated as the first minister. It was not long before dissensions arose between him and his charge, who accused him of grave misdemeanors, which seem to have been substantiated, as, on inquiry, the governor and council suspended him from the ministry, permitting him only to preach a farewell sermon and to install Bernardus Arent as his successor. Fabritius soon after returned to Holland. On the recapture of the province by the Dutch, this church was removed by the orders of Governor Colve. It was rebuilt after the retrocession on the site of the future Grace Church on the west side of Broadway, for which a patent was obtained from Governor Dongan. The first churches were but temporary buildings. The structure in Broadway, which was destroyed by the fire of 1776, was built in 1710, soon after the commencement of the administration of Governor Hunter, and chiefly through the efforts of the newly-arrived Palatines.



Old Lutheran Church in Frankfort Street. Erected in 1767.

Soon after the capture of the province by the English, the territory forming the present State of New Jersey, which had hitherto belonged to New Netherland, was granted by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret as a distinct and separate province. The boundaries between New York and Connecticut were also defined by commissioners appointed for the purpose, and Long Island was adjudged the property of the former.

In the meantime, this invasion of the Dutch possessions in a time of profound peace had caused a war between England and Holland, and a rumor that a hostile squadron under the command of the formidable De Ruyter had been dispatched by the States General to recapture the lost province gave the governor great alarm. He immediately set about strengthening the fortifications, which were very much out of repair, and making preparations for defence ; and summoned the citizens to aid him in the work. This they were reluctant to do. A few, indeed, offered to assist him, but the majority were not at all inclined to war against their own countrymen, however indifferent they might be to the result of the struggle. But, ere long, peace was declared, and by the treaty of Breda in 1667, the province of New Netherland was ceded to the English government in exchange for Surinam, though many of the English grumbled at the exchange, and complained that their countrymen had been overreached in the bargain.

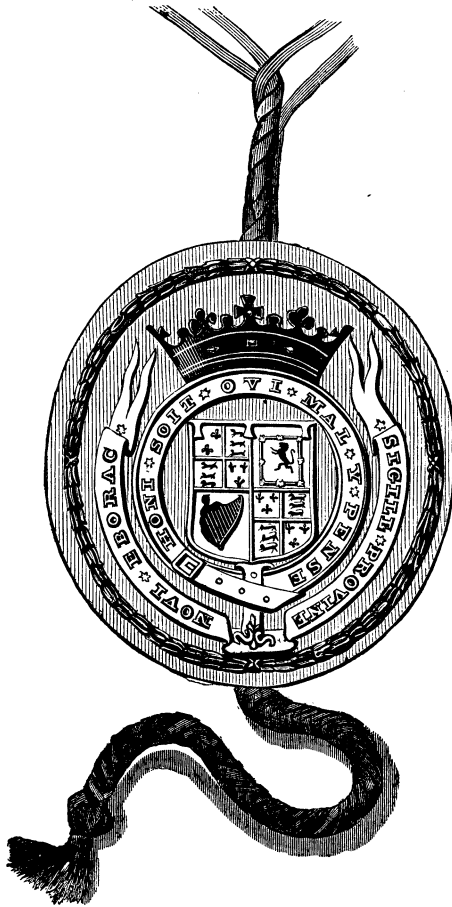
After administering affairs with considerable sagacity for three years, Colonel Nicolls determined to return to Europe, and, having asked and obtained his recall,

set sail on his homeward voyage in August, 1668. He engaged in the subsequent war against Holland, and was killed in a naval engagement in 1672. Colonel Francis Lovelace was appointed his successor.

The change of rulers was not to the advantage of the people. Lovelace proved far more despotic than Nicolls had been. The people had long since demanded the right of levying their own taxes, and of controlling their own affairs ; but the governments, both Dutch and English, had decided that their only right was to obey, and had made it their settled policy to force them to submission. This, Lovelace determined to do in the most effectual manner. He ordered his deputy in the territory west of the Delaware to carry out his measures in that section of the country by levying such taxes on the people as might give them "liberty for no thought but how "to discharge them ;" and proceeded himself to impose a duty of ten per cent. upon all imports or exports to or from the province. Contending for the rights of free-born Englishmen, among which, they claimed, was a participation in legislation, several of the Long Island towns, together with West and East Chester, petitioned for a redress of grievances, but to no effect.

In 1670, Lovelace ordered the towns of Long Island to contribute to the repairs of the fort at New York. This they positively refused to do, unless they were admitted to a share of the government. Flushing, Hempstead and Jamaica protested against this tyrannous proceeding ; for their sole answer, the governor and council ordered the protests to be publicly burned by the hands of the hangman.

In 1669, a public seal was transmitted by the Duke of York to the city authorities, together with a silver mace, and gowns for the municipal officers. During the same



First English Seal of the Province.

year, Lovelace established a meeting for merchants on Fridays, between the hours of eleven and twelve, near the bridge which crossed the sewer near the foot of Broad street. This was the site of the future Exchange. The hour of meeting was announced by the ringing of

the stadt-huys bell, and the mayor was ordered to see that no one disturbed the assembly.

In the same year, an incident occurred which proves how absolute was the authority exercised by the governor and council. Marcus Jacobson, a Swede from Delaware Bay, who had shown himself refractory under the new regime, was brought to Manhattan, tried by a special commission, and sentenced to death—then whipped, branded and sent to Barbadoes to be sold into slavery—his first sentence having been commuted through the *mercy* of the governor.

In 1670, Lovelace purchased Staten Island from the Indians, who complained that they had never received full payment from the Dutch, for the consideration of four hundred fathoms of wampum, together with several axes, kettles and coats, and thus secured the island to the property of the English government. He also approved the race-course which had been instituted by Nicolls at Hempstead, and directed that races should take place there in future during the month of May. In 1673, he established the first mail between New York and Boston, consisting of a single messenger, who was ordered to go and return with letters and packages once within a month, for a “more speedy intelligence and “dispatch of affairs.”

In 1672, Charles II., at the instigation of the French government, proclaimed war against Holland. The Dutch availed themselves of the opportunity to endeavor to regain their lost province, and fitted out a squadron of five ships, under the command of Admirals Benckes and Evertsen and Captains Colve, Boes and Van Zye, to

sail against New York. The news of the expedition soon reached the city. Instead of making preparations to resist it, the governor placed the fort in the hands of Captain John Manning, and set out for Albany to regulate the Indian difficulties which had sprung up in that quarter. News was soon received that the Dutch fleet had already arrived off the coast of Virginia, and Manning immediately dispatched a messenger to the governor, who was then visiting in Westchester county, to hasten his return. He came at once, and commenced preparations for defence. The fort, which numbered forty-six guns, was placed in a posture of resistance, a force of four or five hundred men was mustered from among the citizens, and the volunteers were drilled in order to be in readiness for the expected attack. But the enemy did not make their appearance; and after waiting a short time, the governor disbanded the troops and set out on a journey to Connecticut. He had not waited long enough. On the 29th of July, 1673, the hostile fleet appeared off Sandy Hook. Manning instantly dispatched a messenger with the news to the governor, and set to work to beat up recruits, both in the city and country. His efforts were unavailing; the settlers in the country refused to aid him, while the city volunteers, who themselves were Dutch, went to work to spike the guns, and to render all possible assistance to the enemy. The fort contained but about fifty soldiers, most of whom were ignorant of the art of war, and the city was in a defenceless condition. The ships, meanwhile, quietly sailed up the bay, and anchored at Staten Island on the 30th inst.

The position of affairs certainly seemed hopeless enough, and Manning, who lacked both energy and courage, was not the man to retrieve it. He dispatched a messenger to the ships to inquire why they came in so hostile a manner to disturb the peace of his majesty's subjects ; while, at the same time, the admirals of the expedition dispatched a trumpeter with a summons to the said subjects to surrender. The messengers crossed each other on the way. Manning at once acknowledged the receipt of the summons, and promised to give them a definitive answer on the return of his messengers. By way of reply, the Dutch admirals weighed anchor and sailed up the bay ; then, anchoring opposite the fort, they sent word to Manning that half an hour would be given him to answer their summons. He asked till the following morning to consider. The request was refused him, and he was told that, after half an hour, a fire would be opened upon the fort. The half-hour passed without reply, when the Dutch kept their word, and opened a heavy cannonade on the English, which killed and wounded several of their men. Though many of the guns were in order, and an effective fire might have been poured on the ships, not a shot was fired in return. It was not long before six hundred men, under the command of Captain Anthony Colve, landed on the island, and ranged themselves on the Commons preparatory to marching into the city. The terrified Manning beat a parley, and sent Captain Carr, Thomas Lovelace, and Thomas Gibbs, to negotiate with Colve ; but as they had nothing definite to offer, that functionary detained Lovelace and Gibbs as hostages, and sent Carr back to

the fort, with a summons to Manning to surrender within a quarter of an hour. But this summons was never received. Carr, thinking it his best policy to provide for his own safety, made his way to the city gates, and fled from the town without troubling himself about his master. At the end of the time appointed, a trumpeter was sent for an answer to the summons, and was told in reply that none had been received. "This is the third time they have fooled us," exclaimed Colve in a passion, as he ordered his men to march without delay. They proceeded down Broadway, and, as they approached the fort, were met by a messenger from Manning, offering a full surrender on condition that the garrison should be allowed to march out with all the honors of war. To this Colve assented, and after witnessing the exit of the English intruders, the Dutch troops continued their march down Broadway and again took possession of the fort and of New York. The name of the city was changed to New Orange, while the fort became Fort William Hendrick. But the Dutch did not keep their promise. The English soldiers were seized and imprisoned, their baggage plundered, and many of them carried away to foreign parts in the Dutch ships of war. The governor was permitted to return with the Dutch admirals to Europe.

The news of so easy a capture occasioned the deepest mortification to the English government, as well as to the absent governor and the New England colonies, and on the recovery of the province in 1674, Manning was tried in New York, by court-martial, for cowardice and treachery. The charges brought against him were, that

he had not put the garrison in a fitting state of defence ; but treated with the enemy, suffered their ships to approach and to send their boats ashore without firing upon them ; and, finally, struck his flag and surrendered the city, although the fort was in a tenable condition and the garrison desirous to fight, and let in the enemy without conditions, unless to himself. It was also said, and believed by many, that he had been bribed by the Dutch to surrender the city. In defence, he alleged that he had no time to put the fort in a defensive posture ; that he treated with the enemy in hopes to delay their attack until aid should arrive ; that he did not fire because his ambassadors were on board ; that their landing was unknown to him, and that they were eight hundred strong, while he had but seventy or eighty men in the fort ; that it was for this reason that he ordered a flag of truce to be raised, but that the English flag was struck without his consent ; and that he made no conditions in his own favor, but only demanded that the garrison should march out with the honors of war. His defence, though reasonable in many points, proved unavailing ; the English were smarting under the insult which they had received, and piqued that one of their forts should have fallen so easy a prey to the enemy ; and Manning was found guilty of the charges brought against him. His interest at court saved him from the sentence of death, but he was adjudged to have his sword broken over his head by the executioner in front of the City Hall, and to be forever incapable of holding any civil or military office in the gift of the crown. Lovelace was also reprimanded by the English government,

and his estate ordered to be confiscated for the benefit of the Duke of York.

The Dutch having thus regained possession of the city, the commanders of the fleet issued a new charter, restoring the former municipal government. Anthony De Milt was appointed schout, with three burgomasters and five schepens. Courts of Justice were established at Delaware Bay, Albany, and Esopus, and the magistrates of the provincial towns were required to appear at New Orange and swear allegiance to the Dutch government. The squadron soon returned to Holland accompanied by Lovelace, leaving Captain Anthony Colve in command of the province.

The Dutch now reasserted their right to the province of New Netherland, as defined by the boundaries agreed upon in the Stuyvesant treaty, and Colve received a commission from Benckes and Evertsen, the admirals of the fleet, authorizing him to govern the said territory. His rule was brief, but energetic. Taking a lesson from the condition in which the fort had been left by his predecessor, he determined that the next assailant should not find it so easy a capture, and vigorously set to work to place it in a defensive condition. The city palisades and the works of the fort were repaired, the buildings and inclosures that had accumulated about and crowded upon the latter were ordered to be removed, the guns were put in order, the ammunition looked to, and the citizen companies and watch drilled for active service. All exportation of provisions from the city for the next eight months was forbidden, not more than two of the sloops usually engaged in trading on the shores of the

Hudson were suffered to be absent at the same time, and every precaution was taken to strengthen the city and enable it to resist an attack. It was supposed, and not without reason, that the English would not give up this coveted territory without a struggle, and Colve, himself a military man, resolved that this should not be an easy one. Everything assumed a military character. The Commons became the place of general parade. The schout, at the head of the general militia, reviewed them every day before the stadt-huys at the head of Coenties Slip. Every evening, at six, he received the keys of the city from the officers of the fort, and proceeded with a guard of six men to lock the gates and to place a sentry of citizens at the most exposed points. At sunrise, he went the rounds again, unlocked the gates, and restored the keys to the guard at the fort. At this time the city contained three hundred and twenty-two houses.

Soon after Colve assumed the reins of government, a charge of witchcraft was brought before him against a woman of the city, but the brave old soldier treated it with the contempt it deserved. New York was never much infested with this plague, which spread so widely in the New England States. Yet it is probable that some were infected with the contagion, for in 1665, Ralph Hall and his wife, residents of Setauket on Long Island, were arraigned before the city court of assizes on a charge of having caused the death of George Wood and his child by sorcery. The court, having faith in the black art, bound them both over to appear at the next sessions, but the affair coming to the ears of Nicolls, they were released from all recognizances, and acquitted of the

charge. In 1670, a similar accusation against a widow named Katharine Harrison residing in Westchester, was brought before the court. This woman had formerly been a resident of Weathersfield, Connecticut, where she had been tried for witchcraft, found guilty by the jury, pardoned by the judge, and ordered to remove from the colony. The odium followed her to her new abode ; and her neighbors, fearful of the presence of so dangerous a person, entreated that she might be driven from the town. She was ordered by the court to give security for her good behavior, and the proceedings against her were finally dropped. Such was the rise and progress of witchcraft in New York. Two other cases occurred on Long Island which were referred to the New England courts for trial, but they resulted in nothing.

Under the energetic rule of the warlike Colve, it is probable that the English would have had some difficulty in retaking the city by force of arms. But the days of the Dutch rulers were numbered. On the 9th of February, 1674, a treaty of peace between England and the States General was signed at Westminster, which restored the country to its former possessors. It was not, however, until the 10th of November of the same year that the city was finally ceded to the English, and the Dutch definitively dispossessed of the beautiful province which they had discovered and peopled, and of which they had retained possession for nearly sixty years. On that day the fort was surrendered to Major Edmund Andros, who had been appointed governor by the Duke of York. The fort again became Fort James, and the inhabitants of the province were absolved from their

oaths of allegiance to the States General, and required to swear fealty to the King of England. The new governor and his council, which consisted of John Lawrence, Captain Brockholst and Captain Dyre, met immediately after the surrender of the fort, and restoring the English form of municipal government, ordered that the magistrates who were in office at the time of the capture of the city should continue their duties six months longer. In the course of the following year, Andros appointed William Dervall, mayor ; Gabriel Minvielle, Nicholas De Meyer, Thomas Gibbs, Thomas Lewis, and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, aldermen ; and John Sharpe, sheriff. He also decreed that four aldermen should constitute a court of sessions.

It may not be amiss to close this chapter with a notice of the early settlers who successively filled the mayoralty from the appointment of Thomas Willett in 1665 to the recapture of the city by the Dutch, and whose names have been omitted in the rapid progress of our history. Names and documents are always uninteresting unless connected with events and associations ; and mere lists of city officials can have little interest for the general reader. Thomas Delavall, the successor of Willett in 1666, and who afterwards filled the mayor's chair in 1671 and 1678, was a captain in the English army, who accompanied Nicolls in his invasion of the city, and soon became a prominent man in the province. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and purchased several estates in Manhattan and the vicinity, among which were Great and Little Barent's, now Barn Islands, in the Hellegat ; together with a cherry orchard of several

acres in the neighborhood of Franklin Square. From this orchard, Cherry street derives its name. He died in 1682, leaving several children, who married and became permanent residents of the city.

Cornelius Steenwyck, mayor in 1668-69-70-82-83, was a thorough-bred Netherlander, strongly attached to all the customs of the Fatherland, and distinguished for his inflexible integrity. He was a merchant, and one of the wealthiest and most influential men in the colony. His popularity was unbounded, as well among the English as the Dutch portion of the community; on one occasion, he was appointed governor *pro tem.* during the temporary absence of Lovelace, and he was always found faithful to his oaths of allegiance. He died in 1684, leaving several children. His widow afterwards married Domine Selinus, the clergyman of Brooklyn.

Matthias Nicoll, an English lawyer, who emigrated from Islip in Northamptonshire in 1660, was Steenwyck's successor. He held the office but for one year. Previously to this appointment, he had officiated as the first English secretary of the province under Col. Nicolls. He afterwards became one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and removed to Queens county, where he purchased large tracts of land, and died in 1687, leaving numerous descendants.

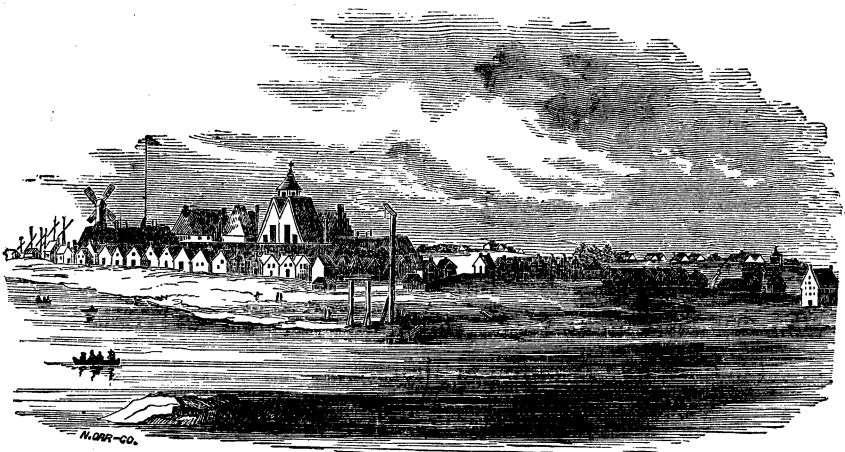
John Lawrence, mayor of the city at the time of its surrender to the Dutch, and subsequently in 1691, emigrated from England to the province during the administration of Kieft, and became one of the patentees of the towns of Hempstead and Flushing. He took up his residence in the city, where he had a house and store on

the river shore, between Hanover and Wall streets ; and engaged in trade on the Hudson River. He died in the city in 1699, leaving several children.

William Dervall, the first mayor of the city after its restoration, was an English merchant who had removed from Boston to New York during the administration of Nicolls, and set up a store in company with his brother near the lower end of Pearl street. His wife was the daughter of Mayor Delavall, from whom he inherited Great Barn Island, together with a large estate at Harlem. He was shrewd but upright, and was much esteemed by his fellow-citizens.

The province thus passed away forever from the hands of its Dutch rulers, but many years elapsed before the Holland manners and customs were uprooted, and New York became in truth an English city. Indeed, some of them linger still, and New York yet retains a marked individuality which distinguishes it from the eastern cities, and savors strongly of its Dutch origin. The memorials of the Dutch dynasty have fallen one by one ; the Stuyvesant pear-tree is the only token now in being of the flourishing nation which so long possessed the city of New Amsterdam—the only link that connects the present with the traditional past—and this must soon fall before the slow decay of age. But the broad and liberal nature of the early settlers is still perpetuated in the cosmopolitan character of the city, in its freedom from exclusiveness, in its religious tolerance, and in its extended views of men and things. Though New York has many faults, yet they are not petty ones. There is no city on the western continent in which men more

naturally find their own level. Deeds find more respect than persons, and each one rises and falls, if not by his own merit, at least by his own endeavors. Most of the other cities of the United States have descended in a direct line from the pioneer settlers, retaining all the types of the character which first gave them birth ; in New York, this primitive type, instead of being predominant, is blended with all the races of the earth ; and if it be true, as one of our most eminent philosophers asserts, that a mixture of many materials makes the best mortar, there is no reason to regret it. The Dutch language has disappeared, the Dutch signs have passed away from the streets, and the Dutch manners and customs are forgotten, save in a few strongholds of the ancient Knickerbockers. But the Dutch spirit has not yet died out—enough of it is still remaining to enable New York to trace its lineage in a direct line to its parent—New Amsterdam.



New York in 1674.

CHAPTER V.

1674.

New Amsterdam in the Old Dutch Colony Times.

BEFORE proceeding further with the thread of our history, it may be well to glance at the condition of New Amsterdam in the old Dutch Colony times, before its primitive manners and customs had been adulterated by English innovations. In the beginning of the settlement, the people had been forced to accommodate themselves to the necessities of a new country, and their houses, furniture and apparel had necessarily been of the rudest kind. But, at the time of which we write, the city had grown into a state of comparative wealth, and the inhabitants were beginning to enjoy the comforts of affluence, according to the standard of the times. This differed somewhat from the modern estimate ; a burgher worth a thousand dollars was esteemed rich ; and his neighbor worth five hundred, a man in easy circumstances. But money has but a relative value, and expenses were graded in conformity with the standard of wealth.

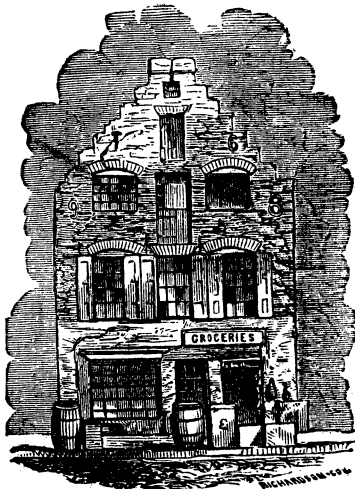
In the beginning of the settlement, as we have



Household in the old Dutch Colony times.

already said, the houses were one story in height with two rooms on a floor. The chimneys were of wood, and the roofs were thatched with reeds and straw. The furniture was of the rudest kind, carpets were unknown, as indeed they continued to be for many years after; the stools and tables were hewn out of rough planks by the hands of the colonists; wooden platters and pewter spoons took the place of more expensive crockery, and naught but the indispensable chest of homespun linen and a stray piece of plate or porcelain, a treasured memento of the Fatherland, was seen to remind one of civilization.

As the forests became cleared away, and the colony increased, the style of living experienced a material change. The straw roofs and wooden chimneys were deemed unsafe, and were ordered to be removed ; and the settlers commenced to build their houses of brick and stone. For some time, the bricks were imported from Holland ; in the administration of Stuyvesant, however, some enterprising citizens established a brick-yard on the island ; and the material henceforth became popular in the colony. The northern part of the island furnished abundance of stone. Many of the wooden houses had checkerwork fronts, or rather gable ends of small black and yellow Dutch bricks, with the date of their erection inserted in iron figures, facing the street. Most of the houses, indeed, fronted the same way ; the roofs were tiled or shingled, and invariably surmounted with a weathercock. The windows were small and the doors large ; the latter were divided horizontally, so that, the



Dutch Grocery in Broad street.

upper half being swung open, the burgher could lean on the lower and smoke his pipe in peaceful contemplation. Not less comfortable were the social "stoeps," and the low, projecting eaves, beneath which the friendly neighbors congregated at twilight to smoke their long pipes and discuss the price of beaver-skins. These institutions have come down to our own times, and are still known and appreciated in the suburbs of the city.

Every house was surrounded by a garden, varying in size according to the locality, but usually large enough to furnish accommodations for a horse, a cow, a couple of pigs, a score of barn-door fowls, a patch of cabbages, and a bed of tulips. Owing in part to the short-sighted policy which discouraged the introduction of English horses and cattle into the province, the stock had greatly deteriorated. The horses were branded with the name of the owner, and turned out in summer to graze on the waste lands in the upper part of the island, where they bred rapidly; then were again collected and housed in autumn. At a later period, horses were imported from the New England settlements, particularly the Narragansett pacers, which were the most highly valued. Carriages were unknown, and it was not until after the Revolution that these came into general use. Lumber wagons and sleighs were the only modes of conveyance in the old Dutch colony times. In 1696, the first hackney coach was introduced into the city; later, one horse chaises came to be used by the wealthiest inhabitants; but, with one or two exceptions, none but the royal governors aspired to the luxury of a private carriage.

Carpets, too, were almost unknown in the colony up to the period of the Revolution. Now and then, a piece of drugget, ostentatiously dignified by the name of carpet, and made to serve for the purpose of a crumb-cloth, was found in the houses of the wealthiest burghers, but even these were not in general use. The snow-white floor was sprinkled with fine sand, which was curiously stroked with a broom into fantastic curves and angles. This adornment pertained especially to the parlor; a room that was only used upon state occasions. The first carpet said to have been introduced into the city was found in the house of the pirate, Kidd, this was merely a good-sized Turkey rug, worth about twenty-five dollars.

The most ornamental piece of furniture in the parlor was usually the bed, with its heavy curtains and valance of camlet and killeminster. Mattresses were as yet unheard of; in their stead was used a substantial bed of live geese feathers, with a lighter one of down for a covering. These beds were the pride of the notable Dutch matrons; in these and the well-filled chests of home-made linen lay their claims to skill in housewifery.

The beds and pillows were cased in check coverings; the sheets were of home-spun linen, and over the whole was thrown a patch-work bed-quilt, made of bits of calico cut in every conceivable shape, and tortured into the most grotesque patterns that could possibly be invented by human ingenuity.

In a corner of the room stood a huge oaken, iron-bound chest, filled to overflowing with household linen, spun by the feminine part of the family, which they

always delighted in displaying before visitors. At a later date, this gave place to "the chest of drawers" of our grandmothers' times—huge piles of drawers, placed one upon the other and reaching to the ceiling, with brass rings over the key-holes to serve as knobs. The *escri-toire*, too, with its complication of writing-desk, drawers, and mysterious pigeon-holes, came into use about the same time ; but both of these were unknown to the genuine Knickerbockers.

In another corner stood the Holland cupboard, with its glass doors, displaying the family plate and porcelain. The latter was rare, and, as a general rule, was "wisely" kept for show." Plate was more common, and there were few wealthy families that had not their porringers, tankards and ladles of massive silver, for plated ware was then unknown. A few had tea-services of china—tea-pots and sugar-bowls the size of a nut-shell, with cups and saucers that might have served for a fairy, adorned with quaint devices of men and things in the most impossible positions, which all can appreciate who have borne witness to the extreme fidelity of the paintings of the Celestials. But more generally, the fragrant bohea was sipped from the humbler pewter mugs, which were ranged in shining rows upon the kitchen dressers. Wooden-ware, too, was in universal use, and it was not until several years after that even the coarsest delf or earthen-ware was imported into the colony. Glass-ware was almost unknown ; punch was drank in turns by the company, from a huge bowl, and beer from a tankard of silver. Sideboards were not introduced until after the Revolution, and were exclusively of English origin.

Sofas, couches, lounges, and that peculiarly American institution, the rocking-chair, were things unknown to our Dutch ancestors. Their best chairs were of Russia leather, profusely ornamented with double and triple rows of brass nails, and so straight and high-backed as to preclude the possibility of a moment's repose. Besides these, the parlor was commonly decorated with one or two chairs with embroidered backs and seats, the work of the daughters of the family. After the capture of the province, cane-seat and mahogany chairs were introduced, but these were unknown to the primitive Hollanders. The kitchen chairs were usually rush-bottomed. Couches and high-backed settees were introduced about the time of the Revolution—sofas are an innovation of modern times. Mahogany had not yet come into use; nearly all the furniture was made of oak, maple, or nut-wood.

Tables were not yet ranked in the category of ornamental furniture. The round tea-table, indeed, with the leaf turning up perpendicularly, like a Chinese fan, occupied a conspicuous place in the corner of the parlor; but this room was sacred to the social gatherings, so much in vogue among the Knickerbockers, denominated "tea-parties," which may account for its presence. The great, square dining-table, with leaves upheld by extended arms, stood in the kitchen for daily use. Japanned tea-tables and card-tables were introduced at a later date.

Some half-dozen clocks were to be found in the settlement, with about the same number of silver watches; but as these were scarcely ever known to go, their existence was of very little practical consequence. No watch-

maker had yet found it to his interest to emigrate, and the science of horology was at a low ebb in the colony. The flight of time long continued to be marked by sundials and hour-glasses ; indeed, it is only since the Revolution that clocks have come into general use. About 1720, the corner-clocks, consisting of cases reaching from the floor to the ceiling, with the dial at the top and the pendulum swinging almost at the bottom were introduced. These were all imported, nor were any manufactured in the country until within a comparatively recent date.

Small looking-glasses in narrow black frames with ornamented corners were in general use. Two or three of the wealthiest burghers were the possessors of large mirrors, in two plates, the upper one elaborately ornamented with flowers and gilding ; but these were objects of luxury to which but few could aspire. Pictures were plentiful, if we may believe the catalogues of household furniture of the olden times ; but these pictures were wretched engravings of Dutch cities and naval engagements, with family portraits at five shillings a head, which were hung at regular intervals upon the parlor walls. The window curtains were generally of flowered chintz, of inferior quality, simply run upon a string. Yet among these, as in the wearing apparel and the hangings of the beds, were sometimes found specimens of costly India stuffs, which had found their way, through the Dutch East India Company to these distant shores, and many rare articles of Eastern luxury thus floated in the wake of commerce to the homes of the wealthy burghers.

Stoves were never dreamed of by the worthy Knick-

erbockers, but in their stead they had the cheerful fire-place—sometimes in the corner, sometimes extending almost across the length of the room—with its huge back-log, and glowing fire of hickory wood. The shovel and tongs stood, one in each corner, keeping guard over the brass-mounted andirons which supported the blazing pile. In front was the brass fender, with its elaborate ornaments ; and a curiously wrought fire-screen stood in the corner. Marble mantels had never yet been thought of ; but the chimney-pieces were inlaid with parti-colored Dutch tiles, representing all sorts of scriptural and apocryphal stories. The kitchen fire-places were less pretentious, and of an immense size, so large that they would almost have sufficed to roast an ox whole. Over the fire swung the hooks and trammels, designed for the reception of the immense iron cooking pots, long since superseded by the modern stoves and ranges. The children and negroes grouped in the spacious chimney corners, cracking nuts and telling stories by the light of the blazing pine knots, while the “vrouws” turned the spinning-wheel, and the burghers smoked their long pipes and silently watched the wreaths of smoke as they curled above their heads. At nine they regularly said their prayers, commended themselves to the protection of the good St. Nicholas, and went to bed to rise with the dawn.

So regular was their lives that the lack of time-pieces made but little difference. The model citizens rose at cock crowing, breakfasted with the dawn, and went about their usual avocations. When the sun reached the “noon-mark,” dinner was on the table. This was strictly a family meal ; dinner parties were unheard of, and the

neighbor who should have dropped in without ceremony would have been likely to have met an indifferent welcome. But this apparent want of sociality was amply atoned for by the numerous tea-parties. After dinner, the worthy Dutch matrons would array themselves in their best linsey-jackets and petticoats of their own spinning, and, putting a half-finished worsted stocking into the capacious pocket which hung down from their girdle, with their scissors, pin-cushion and keys, outside their dress, sally forth to a neighbor's house to "take tea." Here they plied their knitting-needles and their tongues at the same time, discussed the village gossip, settled their neighbors' affairs to their own satisfaction, and finished their stockings in time for tea, which was on the table at six o'clock precisely. This was the occasion for the display of the family plate and the Lilliputian cups of rare old china, out of which the guests sipped the fragrant bohea, sweetening it by an occasional bite from the huge lump of loaf sugar which was laid invariably by the side of each plate, while they discussed the hostess' apple-pies, doughnuts and waffles. Tea over, the party donned their cloaks and hoods, for bonnets were not, and set out straightway for home in order to be in time to superintend the milking and look after their household affairs before bed-time.

As we have already said, the Dutch ladies wore no bonnets, but brushed their hair back from their foreheads and covered it with a close-fitting cap of muslin or calico ; over this they wore, in the open air, hoods of silk or taffeta, elaborately quilted. Their dress consisted of a jacket of cloth or silk, and a number of short petti-

coats of every conceivable hue and material, quilted in fanciful figures. If the pride of the Dutch matrons lay in their beds and linen, the pride of the Dutch maidens lay equally in their elaborately wrought petticoats, which were their own handiwork, and usually constituted their only dowry. The wardrobe of a fashionable lady usually contained from ten to twenty of these, of silk, camlet, cloth, drugget, India stuff and a variety of other materials, all closely quilted, and costing from five to thirty dollars each. They wore blue, red, and green worsted stockings of their own knitting, with parti-colored cloaks, together with high-heeled leather shoes. No finer material was known until after the Revolution. Considerable jewelry was in use among them in the shape of rings and brooches. Gold neck and fob chains were unknown: the few who owned watches attached them to chains of silver or steel; though girdle-chains of gold and silver were much in vogue among the most fashionable belles. These were attached to the richly bound Bibles and hymn-books and suspended from the belt outside the dress, thus forming an ostentatious Sunday decoration. For necklaces, they wore numerous strings of gold beads; the poorer classes, in humble imitation, encircled their throats with steel and glass beads, and strings of Job's tears, the fruit of a plant which was famed to possess some medicinal virtues.

The burghers wore long-waisted coats, with skirts reaching almost to the ankles, vests with large flaps, and numerous pairs of breeches. The coats and vests were trimmed with large silver buttons, and decorated with lace. The low-crowned hats were made of beaver

—caps of fur and taffeta were also much in vogue. Though this costume was somewhat ponderous, the gentlemen do not appear to have fallen behind the ladies in extravagance in dress. Taffeta, plush and velvet were the favorite materials for their habiliments; their shoe-buckles and buttons were of solid silver, and they sported silver-hilted small swords and ivory-mounted canes. A few wore wigs; though the most wore their hair plaited tightly in cues.

But these garments were susceptible of indefinite preservation; for the every-day apparel was of good substantial homespun. Every household had from two to six spinning-wheels for wool and flax, whereon the women of the family expended every leisure moment. Looms, too, were in common use, and piles of home-spun cloth and snow-white linen attested to the industry of the active Dutch maidens. Hoards of home-made stuffs were thus accumulated in the settlement, sufficient to last till a distant generation. Cotton cloth was a fabric unknown. The women spun and wove, milked and churned, and attended to their household matters; the men traded with the natives or the other colonies, or kept their shops in their own city—no one was idle. They made no haste to be rich, were not given to speculation in bank stock or real estate, or any other of those schemes for making a fortune in the twinkling of an eye that only originate in the brain of the active and adventurous Yankees—that, their phlegmatic temperament forbade—but they realized the fable of the hare and the tortoise, and made their way up the ladder of fortune slowly but surely.

Books were rare luxuries in these times ; with the exception of the libraries of the domine and the doctor, Bibles and prayer-books constituted the sole literature of the settlement. These were objects of considerable display, being gorgeously bound, and worn suspended from the girdle by gold and silver chains of considerable value. The intellectual wants of the community were satisfied by the weekly discourses of the domine in the church of St. Nicholas, as yet the only one in the city. Thither the farmers drove from their bouweries on Sundays, with their wives and children arrayed in their best, and, leaving their farm-wagons upon the Bowling Green, turned their horses loose to graze on the grassy hill-slope outside the fort during the hours of service. In these hours, profound silence was enjoined upon the colony ; the remainder of the day was given to the Indians and negroes for recreation. But, though the Reformed Dutch Church within the walls of the fort was the only one as yet erected in New Amsterdam, it must not be inferred that there was a corresponding unanimity of religious opinion. Numerous religious organizations were already in existence, which, restrained by the repressive policy of Stuyvesant, were only waiting the advent of a more tolerant government to erect churches and chapels of their own. The service of the Church of England had already been performed by an English chaplain in the chapel in the fort during the administrations of Nicolls and Lovelace ; the Lutherans and French Calvinists also had preachers of their own. The prevailing religious denomination was the Dutch Calvinist ; but there were a few Episcopalians, a few Roman Catholics,

some Anabaptists, some Independents, several Jews, a number of Quakers, and a great many of no faith at all. At the time of the cession of the province to the English, no less than eighteen different languages were spoken in the city. Its religious tolerance had made it the refuge of the persecuted of every sect and clime, while its commercial advantages had attracted enterprising adventurers from all parts of the world, and had thus laid the foundation of a cosmopolitan city. All this tended to produce greater breadth of view and liberality of sentiment than was to be found in the New England colonies, where but one sect was tolerated, and which were made up almost exclusively of a single nation.

An outline of the streets of New Amsterdam at the time of the surrender to the English in 1664, will indicate the genealogy of the present streets of the city. A minute account of the residents, with the location of their property, which would extend beyond the scope of the present work, has already been given by Mr. Valentine in his valuable history.

Beginning at the ferry, along the road which led to the water-gate at the eastern extremity of the city-wall, was the Smit's Vly or Valley, so called from a blacksmith by the name of Cornelius Clopper, who set up his forge on the corner of Maiden Lane and Pearl street, where he intercepted the custom of the Long Island farmers, on their way to the city from the ferry. This road ran along the high water mark, and, consequently, was only built upon one side.

Next came Hoogh straat, which extended along the river shore, the line of which is marked now by the

north side of Pearl between Wall and William streets, and both sides of Stone between William and Broad streets. On the north side of Pearl between Broad and William streets, extending thence along the shore to Wall street was the Waal or "Sheet Pile street" built to protect the City Hall which fronted it on the northwest corner of Pearl street and Coenties Slip, from the washing of the tides.

Still continuing on the road along the shores of the river was the Water Side, extending along the northern side of Pearl from Broad street to Whitehall, in front of the old church, erected outside the walls of the fort for Domine Bogardus in the days of Wouter Van Twiller. This terminated in Perel street, which ran from Whitehall to State street. About the Battery were a few scattered buildings, among others, the house and store of Jacob Leisler on the west side of Whitehall street, between Pearl and State streets, and the old "White Hall" of Governor Stuyvesant which gave its name to the first named street.

Beginning at the east side of Whitehall above Stone street and extending to Heere straat or Broadway was "T' Marckvelt," afterwards Marketfield street, so called from the Bowling Green which fronted it, and which was then used at stated times for a cattle fair or market. At the western extremity of this street began Heere straat, the ancestor of the present Broadway, which extended to the west or land gate of the city wall, along the southerly side of which ran Wall street to the East River.

In the interior of the city, were the Heere graft, the inlet from which sprung the present Broad street,

extending from the river to Beaver street, and the Prince graft, the continuation of the same from Beaver to Garden street or Exchange Place, above which was an open common, used as a sheep pasture. From its intersection with these, an open ditch marked the course of the Beaver graft to Broadway, on each side of which, buildings were erected.

Beginning at Broad, and extending through Stone to Whitehall streets was Brouwer or Brewer straat, so called from having been the site of a number of breweries. In this street, stone pavements were first laid in the city, whence its future name. From the East River to Broadway ran T' Maagde Paatje, or the Maiden's Path.

From the bridge that crossed the inlet at Broad street ran Brugh or Bridge straat to Whitehall, on the corner of which was the house and store of Cornelius Steenwyck, the principal merchant of New Amsterdam. Beginning in the middle of Bridge street and extending to Stone street, parallel with Whitehall, was Winckel street, or the street of the stores, so called from the Company's storehouses, which fronted it on the east. This is now consolidated into a single block, and Winckel street is known only on the maps of olden time. Last of all came Smee street, on the line of William between Wall and Pearl streets, so called from the glass-maker, Jan Smeedes, who is supposed to have been its earliest resident. Other streets and lanes soon sprung into existence with the new colonization, but these long continued to be known as the ancient landmarks, and to this day, the line of but one has been blotted from the map of the city.

At this time, and long after, the inhabitants of the city continued to be distinguished for their frank good-nature, their love of home, and their cordial hospitality. A late writer says, speaking on this subject: "The hospitality "and simple plainness of New York city down to the "period of 1790 and 1800 was very peculiar. All felt "and praised it. Nothing was too good and no attention "too engrossing for a stranger. The name was a passport to everything kind and generous. All who were "introduced invited them to their house and board." May we not hope that some of the spirit of the ancient Knickerbockers still remains to us, and that we are not churlish in our welcome of the strangers who visit our shores?

Yet, despite the staid decorum of the city, it was overflowing with sociality and genial humor. Fast young men, fashionable amusements, late hours, and dissipation were wholly unknown, but there was no lack of hearty and homely sports. Of holidays, there were abundance; each family had some of its own; birth-days and marriage anniversaries were religiously observed in the family circle, and home-ties were thus drawn more closely together. Each season, too, brought its own peculiar festivals, and many new ones were invented to meet the social exigencies. The people held firmly to the old maxim that "many hands make light work," and never failed, when any extra task presented itself, to make it the occasion for a social gathering. Thus they had "quilting-bees," "apple-bees," "husking-bees," and "raising-bees," in which the allotted task was soon completed by the nimble fingers of the busy workers, who then sat

down to a supper of chocolate and soft waffles, and terminated the evening by a merry dance. Dancing was a favorite amusement; the negroes danced to the music of their rude instruments in the market-place; and the youths and maidens danced at their social gatherings, as well as around the May-pole on the Bowling Green on the first of May. This latter day was also memorable for another festival, which is indigenous to New York, and has grown into an institution—it was the general moving-day, and all who changed their residences were expected to vacate the premises which they occupied before the hour of noon. Rents ranged from twenty-five to one hundred dollars per annum; the houses being worth from two hundred to a thousand dollars each.

Besides the holidays which we have noted, the Dutch had five national festivals which were observed throughout the city; namely, Kerstrydt (Christmas); Nieuw jar (New Year); Paas (the Passover); Pinxter (Whitsuntide); and Santa Claus (St. Nicholas or Christ-kindle day). Most of these have come down to our own time in a form but slightly varied from the ancient observance. Christmas day opened with a general exchange of “merry Christmas” greetings throughout the city, and he bore off the palm who was the first to offer the wish to his neighbor; and this over, “turkey shooting” came next in order, and the young men repaired to “the Commons” or to “Beekman’s Swamp” to shoot at turkeys which were set up for a target. Each man paid a few stuyvers for a shot, and he who succeeded in hitting the bird bore it off as a prize. The older citizens, mean-

while, gathered about the young sportsmen, criticising their skill, and telling tales of their own youthful dexterity. At home, the day was commemorated by a family dinner, after which the children and patriarchs joined together in a merry dance, and closed the day with gaiety and good humor.

New Year's day was devoted to the interchange of visits. Every house in the city was open, no stranger was unwelcome, cake, wine and punch were provided in profusion, and the opening year was greeted with general conviviality. It was considered a breach of etiquette for any one to omit a single acquaintance in his round of calls, and acquaintanceships were renewed and half-dissevered intimacies knotted again in the cordial warmth of the New Year's greeting. This custom, which has come down to our own times, has now extended to other cities, but its origin belongs exclusively to New York.

Paas, or Easter and Easter Monday, was once a notable festival in the city ; though now it is nearly forgotten, except among the children, who still crack colored eggs in honor of the occasion. Not many years have passed, however, since this holiday enjoyed as wholesale an observance as the others we have mentioned, and colored eggs were found upon every table. But the festival is passing away, and will soon, like Pinxter, be utterly forgotten.

But Santa Claus day was the best day of all in the estimation of the little folks, who, of all others, enjoy holidays the most intensely. It is notable, too, for having been the day sacred to St. Nicholas, the patron saint

of New York, who presided at the figure-head of the first emigrant ship that touched her shores, who gave his name to the first church erected within her walls, and who has ever since been regarded as having especial charge of the destinies of his favorite city. To the children, he was a jolly, rosy-cheeked little old man, with a low-crowned hat, a pair of Flemish trunk-hose, and a pipe of immense length, who drove his reindeer sleigh loaded with gifts from the frozen regions of the North over the roofs of New Amsterdam for the benefit of good children. Models of propriety were they for a week preceding the eventful Christmas eve. When it came, they hung their stockings, carefully labelled, that the Saint might make no mistakes, in the chimney corner, and went early to bed, chanting the Santa Claus hymn, in addition to their usual devotions. For the hymn and the translation, which we give entire as a curiosity, we are indebted to D. T. Valentine, Esq.

“Sint Nicholaas, goed heilig man,
Trekt uw' besten Tabbard an,
En reist daarmee naar Amsterdam,
Van Amsterdam naar Spanje,
Waar appellen von Oranje,
En appelen van Granaten,
Rollen door de Straten.
Sint Nicholaas, myn goden Vriend,
Ik heb u altyd wel gediend,
Als gy my nu wat wilt geben,
Fal ik u dienen als myn leven.”

TRANSLATION.

“Saint Nicholas, good holy man,
Put your best Tabbard on you can,
And in it go to Amsterdam,
From Amsterdam to Hispanje,

Where apples bright of Orange,
And likewise those, pomegranites named,
Roll through the streets all unreclaimed.
Saint Nicholas, my dear, good friend,
To serve you ever was my end;
If you me now something will give,
Serve you I will as long as I live."

These rhymes, Mr. Valentine tells us, continued to be sung among the children of the ancient Dutch families as late as the year 1851. But the custom is passing away, and the Christmas gifts are now given prosaically without legend or tradition. It is to be regretted, for childhood is the golden age of illusions, and short as this illusion may be, all who have tasted it know how sweet were the fruits that grew in the mysterious gardens of the good old Santa Claus. Peace to his ashes!



Santa Claus, the Patron Saint of New Amsterdam.

CHAPTER VI.

1674—1689.

New York under the new Regime—Progress of the City.

EDMUND ANDROS, afterwards known as the “tyrant of “New England,” was a man of marked ability, but imperious, and despotic in the highest degree. This was doubtless owing, in part, to the commands of the Duke of York, of whom he was a devoted follower, and who had given him instructions to continue the arbitrary course of policy pursued by the former government. No sooner was he installed in his office, than the people, hoping some advantage from the change of rulers, renewed their petition for an assembly of representatives. Andros laid the petition before the Duke of York, and strongly advised him to grant it. James, who regarded popular assemblies as dangerous and useless, utterly refused to listen to their prayer. “What do they want “with assemblies?” said he. “They have the Court of “Sessions, presided over by the governor; or, if this is “not enough, they can appeal to me.” Such was the estimation in which the rights of the people were held by their royal masters. As another sample of the spirit

of the times, we may quote the remark made a short time before by Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia, who "thanked God that there were neither free schools nor printing-presses in the colony." "God keep us from both," added he, fervently. And Lord Effingham, his successor, was directed on no account to suffer the latter to be established. The New England colonies, however, enjoyed a representative government, and this excited the envy of the New Yorkers, particularly of the inhabitants of the eastern towns of Long Island, who petitioned to be annexed to Connecticut, alleging, as a pretext, their New England origin. The request was refused, and Andros, intent on enlarging his province, attempted to extend its boundaries to the Connecticut River—the ancient limit—and repaired to Saybrook with several armed sloops to enforce his claim. The people immediately prepared for resistance; and Andros, seeing that he must fight or retreat, chose the latter, and returned to New York. He afterwards took forcible possession of Sagadahoc, a district in Maine between the Kennebec and the Penobscot, inhabited by a few Dutch settlers. Here, he erected a fort and constituted the county of Cornwall. Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and a tract west of the Delaware, extending to the Schuylkill, were also included within the limits of the province, which contained, at this time, thirty-two towns and villages.

Though forced by the commands of his patron to deny to the citizens the political privileges which they so much desired, the new governor strove to make amends for it by promoting public improvements. In 1676, he

appointed as mayor, Nicholas De Meyer, a native-born Hollander, and one of the most enterprising traders of the province. Mayor De Meyer had emigrated from Holland at an early age, married the daughter of Hendrick Van Dyck, one of the most influential burghers, and grown up with the city, where many of his descendants are yet to be found.

Ordinances were established by the governor for regulating the public morals, and promoting the welfare of the city. The city gates were ordered to be closed at night at nine o'clock, and to be opened at daylight. The citizens were required to keep watch by turns, and were fined for absence or neglect of duty, and all profanity and drunkenness were strictly forbidden. Every citizen was ordered to provide himself with a good musket, or fire-lock, with at least six charges of powder and ball ; and to appear, with good arms, before the captain's colors at the first beating of the drum.

All masters of vessels, on arriving in port, were required to give a full list of their passengers to the mayor, under penalty of a fine of a beaver-skin for each offence. Peddling was forbidden and none were permitted to sell goods at retail but freemen or burghers of the city. For this freedom, the merchants paid six beavers, and the mechanics two ; unless they kept up an establishment therein, all lost it after twelve months' absence from the city. Six wine and four beer taverns were licensed by the governor, with permission to both to sell strong liquors ; the rates of fare being regulated as follows : Lodging, three pence and four pence per night ; meals, eight pence and a shilling ; brandy, six-

pence per gill ; French wines, fifteen pence per quart, rum, threepence per gill ; cider, fourpence per quart ; beer, threepence per quart ; and mum, sixpence per quart. If an Indian was seen drunk in the street, the tavern-keeper from whom he had obtained the liquor was fined ; if the latter could not be found, the whole street was forced to pay the penalty. No grain was suffered to be distilled, unless unfit for flour. Two years after, the excise on liquors was removed, and all were permitted to buy or sell in quantities exceeding a gallon.

All owners of vacant lots or ruinous buildings, were directed at once to build upon or improve them under penalty of seeing them sold at public auction. The tan-pits in Broad street were declared a nuisance, and the tanners ordered to remove beyond the limits of the city. They established themselves along Maiden Lane, which was then a marshy valley. A company of four shoemakers, who were also their own tanners, purchased a tract of land bounded by Maiden Lane, Broadway, Ann street, and a line between William and Gold streets, and set up their business there. Henceforth this became known as "the Shoemaker's Land ;" and later, in 1696, when Maiden Lane was regulated, and the land surveyed and divided into town lots, it still retained its original title. The tanners were eventually driven from their locality, and forced to take refuge in the "Swamp," in the vicinity of Ferry street, of which more hereafter.

Other improvements, too, were made in Broad street. This, which had originally been a little rivulet, conveying the water from the marshes above Beaver street to the river, was lined with planks and converted into an open

sewer. The upper part of this drain was called the Prince graft ; the lower part, the Heere graft. The following year, a new dock was built, property-holders being taxed for the expense, at one and a half per cent a pound. Three hundred and one names are found on the list of the tax collector ; one-third of which are English, four French, and the remainder Dutch.

Slaughter-houses were ordered to be removed from the city and to be built over the water at the Smith's Fly, near the "Rondeel" or Half-Moon fort at the foot of Wall street. Permission was given to all the inhabitants to cut wood anywhere on the island a mile distant from a habitation. A weekly market was instituted, to be held every Saturday in the market-house, at the foot of Broad street. A yearly fair for cattle, grain and produce was also established, to be held at Breuckelen near the ferry on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in November ; and on the Thursday, Friday and Saturday following, on the plain before the fort. For the better provision of supplies, all persons were exempted from arrest for debt while in attendance at these fairs.

In 1677, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, son of the well known Oloffte Stevensen Van Cortlandt, and the first native-born mayor of the city, was appointed to the mayoralty. Mr. Cortlandt, though still young, being but thirty-four years of age when he attained to this position, was already a prominent man in the city. He became still more so in subsequent events, and we shall meet him again in the affair of Leisler. He was a merchant and large property-holder, owning the well known "Clover Waytie," south of Maiden Lane, a large farm near the

Fresh Water Pond, and a piece of land in the vicinity of the present Cortlandt street, which thus obtained its name, with a frontage of two hundred and fifty feet on Broadway and extending quite down to the river shore ; besides large tracts of land on the shores of the North River. He died in the year 1701, leaving a large family, the descendants of which are still to be found in the city.

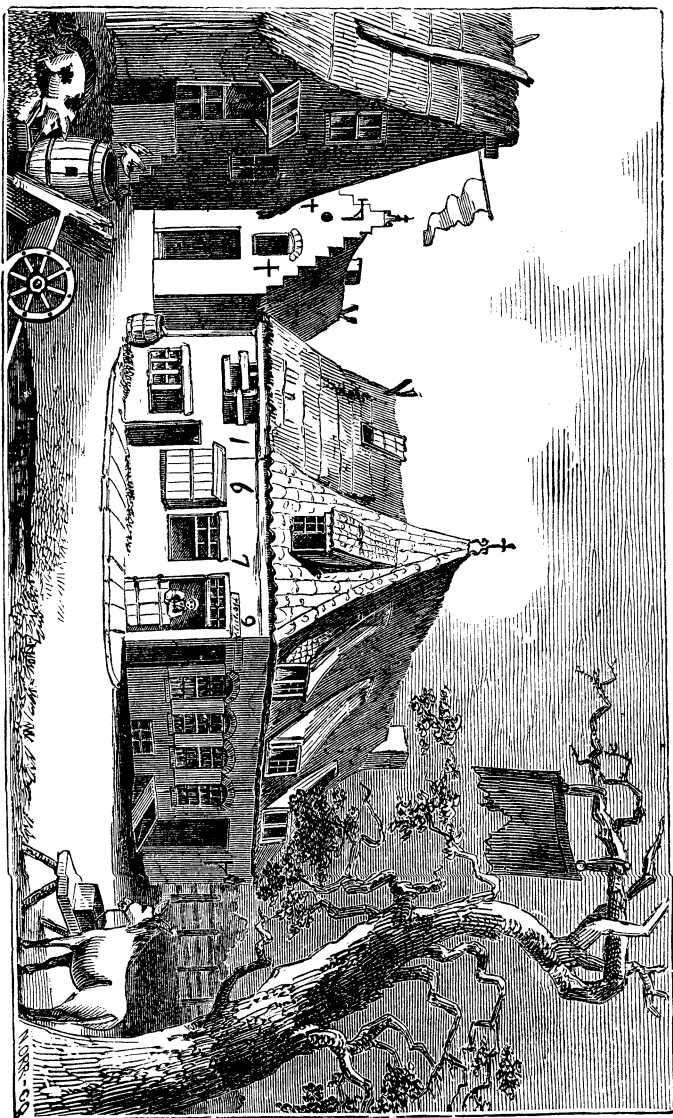
During this year, seven public wells were constructed in the city. These were built in the middle of the streets, and were especially designed for security against fires. Water was generally scarce and bad. An occasional spring of sweet water was found ; the best was in the vicinity of the present corner of Chatham and Pearl streets, but the march of civilization had not as yet extended so far. Many years after, the citizens learned to appreciate its virtues, and christened it "the Tea Water Pump."

The following year, François Rombouts was appointed mayor. Mayor Rombouts was a Frenchman by birth ; a naturalized burgher, and a considerable merchant of the city, who had for several years been a prominent politician. His house was near the corner of Broadway and Rector street, on the site of the present Trinity Church, surrounded by extensive grounds extending down to the river shore. He held the office of mayor but for one year, though he continued to take an active part in politics until the time of his death, in 1691. He left one daughter, who afterwards married Roger Brett, a merchant of the city.

During the brief administration of Mayor Rombouts, the citizens received a boon from the governor which, in

a few years, trebled their wealth, and laid the foundation of the fortunes of New York. A considerable part of the country was now under cultivation, and flour was becoming an important article of trade. To secure the advantages of this commerce to the citizens, Andros granted them a monopoly of the bolting of flour, together with the exclusive right of exporting it out of the province, and forbade all other towns to engage in the trade under penalty of the forfeiture of the articles. This act excited the greatest indignation among the inland towns, who used every effort to procure its repeal. This they effected in 1694, six years after its enactment, but, during that time, the exports and imports of the city had increased from two to more than six thousand pounds sterling per annum, the shipping had increased from three ships to sixty, and more than six hundred new houses had been erected in the city. Lands increased to ten times their former value, and a fever for speculation broke out among the inhabitants, who vainly endeavored to prevent the repeal of this "bolting act," which brought them such golden fruit at the expense of their neighbors. During Rombout's administration, the shipping of the city consisted of three ships, eight sloops, and seven small coasting vessels. In the same year an Admiralty Court was first established in the province.

A curious law respecting the Indians is found upon the records of 1678. Hitherto, the Indians had been free, with the exception of a few slaves that had been brought into the province from the Massachusetts Bay colony. It was now enacted that all Indians who should come or be



Dutch Cottage in Beaver Street, in 1679.

brought into the province for the next six months, should be sold for the benefit of the government. A lack of negro slaves was probably the cause of the enactment of this ordinance. The slave trade had long been regarded as a legitimate branch of commerce, and there was scarcely a household in the city that was not provided with from one to a dozen negroes ; yet the demand increased with the increase of the settlement, and the supply was found to be insufficient. Strict laws were enacted to keep this brute force within due bounds ; negroes were forbidden to assemble together without special permission ; to leave their masters' houses after nightfall, or to go beyond the city gates without a pass ; yet all these precautions proved unavailing to prevent the terrible catastrophe in which the system of slavery culminated in 1741.

In 1680, Captain William Dyre, an Englishman who had taken up his residence in the city soon after the accession of the English government, was appointed mayor. He had been the commander of a naval force dispatched in 1642 by Rhode Island for the reduction of Fort Good Hope—a fact which did not increase his popularity among his adopted citizens. He also held the office of collector of customs—an office especially odious to the people.

Andros, meanwhile, had been compelled to repair to England to answer charges brought against him by Fenwick and Carteret, the proprietors of the Jerseys, who accused him of having interfered with their privileges. He set sail for Europe in 1680, intrusting the government to Anthony Brockholst. The discontent of the people increased daily ; they grumbled at the heavy

taxes which were arbitrarily imposed on them, and even went so far as to accuse Dyre of levying them without authority. On this charge, he was indicted by the grand jury as a traitor, and was ordered to be tried by a special court. He pleaded that he had acted under the duke's commission, and, as this could not be gainsayed, he was sent to England for trial, and the port was left without a collector. The complaint was dismissed for want of evidence, none of the citizens having seen fit to appear as accusers; but they had accomplished their object in getting rid of the officer. Meanwhile, for a few months, the port remained free. Cornelius Steenwyck succeeded to the mayoralty. A census of the city was taken this year, and it was found to contain two hundred and seven houses, and two thousand inhabitants.

Andros soon returned, cleared from the charges of his enemies, with instructions to continue the system of taxation which weighed so heavily upon the citizens. But the resistance of the people, who went so far as to question the supreme authority of the Duke of York, joined with the remonstrances of William Penn, at length induced the royal duke to bate something of his pretensions; and in 1683, Andros was recalled, and Colonel Thomas Dongan appointed in his stead, with instructions to call a popular assembly.

Despite his sycophancy to the Duke of York, Andros seems to have really had the interests of the province at heart, and to have made the best of existing circumstances. He remonstrated with his royal master against the commands which he executed with fidelity, and he certainly enacted a different *rôle* in New York from that

which he afterwards played in New England. But the people, who only saw the power nearest them, were disposed to impute to him much of the blame which belonged in truth to the Duke of York, and they gladly received the news of his recall. The fidelity of Andros was not forgotten ; on the accession of the Duke of York to the throne in 1685, he was knighted and appointed royal governor of the colonies of New England ; a position which soon involved him in inextricable difficulties.

Governor Dongan reached New York on the 25th of April, 1683. He was of the Roman Catholic faith ; a fact which rendered him at first obnoxious to many ; but his firm and judicious policy, his steadfast integrity, and his pleasing and courteous address, soon won the affections of the people, and made him one of the most popular of the royal governors. In accordance with the instructions of his superiors, his first act after his arrival was to call a general assembly of the people. This long hoped-for concession was hailed with delight. On the 17th of October, 1683, the first Assembly, consisting of the governor, ten councillors, and seventeen representatives elected by the people, convened in the city of New York. This point gained, the contest continued, and New York, the legislative capital of the province, was henceforth the scene of bitter contention between the Assembly and the royal governors. The first act of this body was to frame a Charter of Liberties—the first popular charter of the province. This Charter of Liberties ordained “that ‘supreme legislative power should forever reside in the “governor, council and people, met in General Assembly ; that every freeholder and freeman might vote for

“representatives without restraint; that no freeman
“should suffer but by judgment of his peers, and that all
“trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax
“should be assessed on any pretence whatever, but by
“the consent of the Assembly; that no seaman or soldier
“should be quartered on the inhabitants against their
will; that no martial law should exist; and that no
“person professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should
“at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for
“any difference of opinion in matters of religion.”

The assemblies were to be held at least triennially; New York sending four representatives; Suffolk, two; Kings, two; Queens, two; Richmond, two; Westchester, two; Albany, two; Schenectady, one; Dukes county, two, and Cornwall, two; the number to be increased at the pleasure of the Duke of York. Twenty-seven was the maximum number down to the period of the Revolution. These representatives were free to appoint their own time of meeting and of adjournment, and were the sole judges of the qualifications of their own members. In case of vacancy in the Assembly, the governor was to issue summons for a new election. Bills passed by this body were submitted to the governor for concurrence, and laws were repealed by the authority that made them, with the consent of the Duke of York. One of the first acts of the Assembly was the division of the province into twelve counties—New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Westchester, Dutchess, Dukes and Cornwall. The two latter were presently dropped from the list, and ceded to other governments.

New police regulations were at once established. Sunday laws were enacted ; tavern-keepers were forbidden to sell liquor except to travellers, citizens to work, children to play in the streets, and Indians and negroes to assemble on the Sabbath. Twenty cartmen were licensed by the municipal authorities, on condition that they should repair the highways gratis whenever called on by the mayor, and cart the dirt from the streets, which the inhabitants were required to sweep together every Saturday afternoon beyond the precincts of the city. The rate of cartage was fixed at three pence per load to any place within the bounds of the city ; beyond which, the price was doubled. The cartmen, however, soon proved refractory, and a few weeks after, the license system was abandoned, and all persons, with the exception of slaves, were allowed to act as cartmen.

On the 8th of December, 1683, the city was divided into six wards. The First or South Ward, beginning at the river, extended along the west side of Broad to Beaver street ; thence westward along Beaver street to the Bowling Green ; thence southward by the fort to Pearl street ; and thence westward along the river shore to the place of starting. The Second or Dock Ward, also beginning at the river at the southeast corner of Pearl and Broad streets, extended along the shore to Hanover Square ; thence northward through William to Beaver street ; thence along Beaver to Broad street ; thence back through Broad to the river shore. The Third or East Ward formed a sort of triangle, beginning at the corner of Pearl and Hanover Square, and extending along the shore to the Half Moon fort at the foot of Wall street ;

thence stretching along Wall to the corner of William, and thence returning along the east side of William to the river. The Fourth or North Ward, beginning at the northwest corner of William and Beaver streets, extended through the former to the corner of Wall ; thence westerly along the palisades to a line a little beyond Nassau street ; thence southerly to Beaver street ; thence easterly along Beaver to the first-named point. The Fifth or West Ward, beginning at the junction of the Fourth Ward with Beaver street, extended northerly along the boundary line of the latter to Wall street ; thence along the palisades to Broadway ; thence southerly to Beaver street ; thence easterly to the point of starting. The Sixth or Out Ward comprised all the farms and plantations outside the city walls, including the town of Harlem. Each of these wards was authorized to elect an alderman and councilman annually to represent them in the city government. The governor and council retained the appointment of the mayor in their own hands ; it was not, indeed, until long after the Revolution that this office was made elective by the people.

The following year, a monopoly of packing flour and making bread for exportation was granted to the citizens in addition to the previous "bolting act." At this time, there were twenty-four bakers in the province. These were divided into six classes ; a class being appointed for each secular day of the week. The weight and price of loaves was also regulated ; a white loaf weighing twelve ounces being valued at six stuyvers in wampum. This year, for the first time, the citizens elected their aldermen and councilmen. Gabriel Minvielle, a merchant of French origin, who had emigrated to the pro-

vince in 1669, was appointed mayor. He held the office but one year ; though he afterwards mingled largely in politics, and took an active part with the aristocratic faction in the affair of Leisler. He died in 1702, leaving no children.

In 1685, the Duke of York succeeded to the throne under the title of James II., and New York became a royal province. His accession was marked by renewed oppressions. In his new instructions to Dongan, he authorized him, with his council, to resume the power of enacting laws and imposing taxes ; and also directed him on no account to suffer printing-presses to be established in the colony. He also urged Dongan to favor the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion into the province ; a course of policy which the governor, himself a Catholic, was reluctant to adopt. The French in the Canadas were using every effort to gain over the Iroquois through the influence of Jesuitical missionaries, and the clear-sighted Dongan saw that it was necessary to counteract this influence to preserve the province to the English government. This conduct displeased James, who was more of a churchman than a statesman, and paved the way for Dongan's speedy recall.

On the 6th of August, 1685, the Assembly was dissolved by proclamation of the governor, and no other was summoned during the reign of James. Nicholas Bayard was chosen mayor for this year. Bayard was of Holland origin, and was cousin of Judith Bayard, the wife of Petrus Stuyvesant. Few men in the province led a more eventful life. Entering early into politics as well as into mercantile life, he amassed a fortune, and, at

the same time, became one of the prominent men of the city. In the stirring times of the Leisler Rebellion, he took sides with the aristocratic faction, was imprisoned, tried, convicted of treason and sentenced to death by the Leislerians ; then released and promoted to high honors on the elevation of his own party to power. He owned large tracts of land in various parts of the city, among which was the well known " Bayard Farm," lying on the west side of the Bowery above Canal street. He died in 1711, leaving an only son who inherited his large estates.

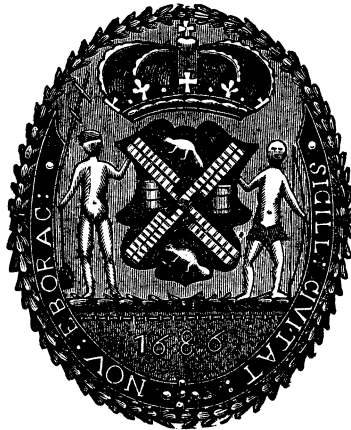
A disposition was manifested during this year towards the persecution of the Jews, which was subsequently carried much further. The clause in the charter, granting tolerance to all who worshipped God through Jesus Christ, was construed to exclude the Hebrew race, and the Jews were forbidden to exercise their religion. They were also prohibited from selling goods at retail, but were permitted to continue the wholesale trade.

A public chimney-sweeper was appointed for the city, who was to cry his approach through the public streets, and who probably originated the whoop peculiar to his vocation. His rates were fixed by law at a shilling and eighteen pence per chimney, according to the height of the house. A part of the slaughter-house over the Smits's Vly was converted into a powder-magazine, its distance from the city rendering it a safe place of deposit for the explosive material, and Garret Johnson, the proprietor of the establishment, was constituted the keeper. Markets were ordered to be held three times a week, though fish, poultry, butter, fruits and vegetables

were permitted to be sold daily. A haven master was appointed to look after the shipping and collect the bills, and surveyors were named to regulate the buildings and *preserve the uniformity* of the streets.

In 1686, the Dongan Charter was granted to the city. This instrument, which still forms the basis of the municipal rights and privileges of New York, confirmed the franchises before enjoyed by the corporation, and placed the city government on a definite footing. The governor retained the appointment of the mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, high constable, town clerk, and clerk of the market in his own hands; leaving the aldermen, assistants, and petty constables to be chosen by the people at the annual election on St. Michael's Day. This charter declared that New York City should thenceforth comprise the entire island of Manhattan, extending to the low-water mark of the bays and rivers surrounding it.*

In the same year, the city received a new seal from



City Seal of 1686.

* Dated April 22, 1686.

the home government. This still preserved the beaver of the Dutch, with the addition of a flour-barrel and the arms of a windmill in token of the prevailing commerce of the city. The whole was supported by two Indian chiefs, and encircled with a wreath of laurel, with the motto, *SIGILLUM CIVITATIS NOVI EBORACI*.

In 1687, Stephanus Van Cortlandt was again appointed mayor. During his mayoralty, it was determined to enlarge the city by building a new street in the river along the line of Water street, between Whitehall and Old Slip, and water lots were sold by the corporation on condition that the purchasers should make the street towards the water, and protect it by a substantial wharf from the washing of the tide, in imitation of the Waal or sheet pile street, extending along the line of Pearl street, from Broad to William streets in front of the City Hall. It was not, however, until some years after, that this scheme was carried into effect, and the projected street rescued from the waters.

Measures were also taken to enlarge the city still further by placing the fortifications further out, and laying out Wall street thirty-six feet wide. The fortifications, indeed, were now worse than useless. The palisades which had been erected in 1653 along the line of Wall street had fallen down, the works were in ruins, the guns had disappeared from the artillery-mounts, and the ditches and stockades were in a ruinous condition. Their immediate removal was determined on and ordered, but was delayed by the revolution which followed soon after. When war broke out between France and England in 1693, they were again repaired to be in readiness for the

expected French invasion, and it was not until 1699 that their demolition was finally accomplished. Wall street, however, was laid out immediately, and it was not long before it became one of the most important thoroughfares in the city. During the same year, a valuation was made of the city property, which was estimated on the assessor's books at £78,231.

In the meantime, Indian affairs had claimed the attention of the governor. The treaty of peace, long since concluded at Tawasentha between the Dutch and the Iroquois, had never been openly broken, and the Indian war during Kieft's administration had been definitively ended by the interposition of these powerful tribes. Yet the Five Nations had fancied themselves slighted by the late governors, and their warriors had resented the supposed insults by occasional aggressions upon the English settlements. Just at this juncture, the French in Canada, who had long been endeavoring to persuade the Iroquois to acknowledge their sway, resolved to force them to submission ; and organized a large army, designed for their extermination. On hearing of this project, James II., regarding it as a good opportunity to rid the province of a dangerous enemy, ordered Dongan not to interfere in the matter. Dongan, however, was far too honorable to see his allies murdered in cold blood, in obedience to the will of his superiors. He warned the Iroquois at once of their danger, and, promising them assistance, invited them to meet him at Albany, to renew the treaty of peace which had well-nigh been forgotten. They were punctual at the rendezvous, and concluded a new treaty, which was long respected by both parties. The

French made two invasions on the territory of the Iroquois, but, weakened by sickness and unacquainted with Indian warfare, they soon returned with scattered ranks, having effected nothing, except to arouse the wrath of a powerful enemy. They had opened the door to a terrible retribution. The Indians fell with fury upon the Canadian settlements, burning, ravaging, and slaying without mercy, until they had nearly exterminated the French from the territory. The war continued until of all the French colonies, Quebec, Montreal, and Trois Rivières alone remained, and the French dominion in America was almost annihilated. Governor Dongan remained a firm friend of the Indians during his administration, aiding them by his counsel, and doing them every good office in his power. By this policy, he gained the fullest confidence of the grateful savages, and the name of "Dongan, the white father" was remembered in the Indian lodges long after it had grown indifferent to his countrymen of Manhattan.

While Dongan was thus winning popularity abroad among his savage allies, a growing feeling of discontent was springing up among his subjects at home. The citizens were mostly Protestants, and bitterly opposed to the Catholic religion; many of them Waldenses and Huguenots, who had fled from the religious persecutions in Europe, and crossed the ocean to seek protection under the tolerant Dutch government. On the cession of the province to the English, they fell under the direct rule of the Duke of York, a zealous Catholic, and an avowed opponent to the Protestant religion. On his accession to the throne, he awakened their distrust still

more by surrounding himself with those of his creed, and elevating them to most of the posts of honor and profit in the kingdom. It was evidently and naturally his settled purpose to encourage the growth of Catholicism in his dominions, and though his plans for the conversion of the Indians were thwarted by the policy of Dongan, the Protestants saw his designs maturing in the city. Roman Catholics began to emigrate rapidly; the collector of customs with several other prominent officials were avowed Papists, and the minister of the church of England, with many others, was suspected of secretly favoring the same religion. The people grew jealous of the Catholic influence, and murmured loudly at the spread of the obnoxious faith. Governor Dongan, who was still popular, despite his creed, used every effort to soothe their discontent by choosing the majority of his council from among the stanchest Protestants, and showing the greater possible religious toleration. But his judicious policy displeased his royal master, and, in the midst of his politic measures, he was suddenly recalled from the government. Resigning his command to Francis Nicholson, the deputy of Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed royal governor both of New England and New York, he set sail for Europe. He afterwards returned, and took up his residence on an estate on Staten Island, for which he had previously procured a patent, and which continued for many years in the possession of his family.

Nicholson took possession of the government during the month of August, 1688. On the 24th of the same month, Andros issued a proclamation for a general

thanksgiving for the birth of a prince, the heir to the English crown. The next English mail brought startling intelligence. The Prince of Orange had invaded England, the people had everywhere flocked to his standard, James had abdicated the throne and fled to the continent in despair, and William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, had been proclaimed King and Queen of England.

CHAPTER VII.

1689—1692.

Revolution of 1689—Affair of Leisler.

THE news produced an instant revolution in the colonies. The Prince and Princess of Orange were known as stanch Protestants, and their accession to the throne was hailed with delight. But a knotty point arose in the administration of affairs. The commissions that had been granted by James II. became null and void on the receipt of this intelligence. The new sovereigns, involved in the perplexities of home affairs, and hardly, as yet, seated firmly on the throne, had found no time to forward instructions to their distant colonies, who were thus left without legal authority. Uncertain how to act, they determined to act for themselves. The Bostonians rose in arms, seized Sir Edmund Andros and his officers, sent them to England, and resumed their former popular government. The New Yorkers were not thus united. While they recognized the supremacy of William and Mary, a small party insisted that the colonial government had not been overthrown by the late revolution, but remained vested in the lieutenant-governor and his

council until further advices should arrive from England. This party consisted chiefly of the wealthiest and most aristocratic portion of the citizens, and was headed by Stephanus Van Cortlandt, mayor of the city, Nicholas Bayard, colonel of the city militia, Frederick Philipse,* a wealthy citizen, and Joseph Dudley; all of whom were members of the council, holding their commissions from Dongan, the royal governor.

The mass of the people, on the other hand, maintained that the whole government had been overthrown by the deposal of James II., and that, as no one could longer legally hold power from the late authorities, the people themselves must rule until the arrival of the newly commissioned governor. The greatest excitement prevailed throughout the city. Nicholson and his party, though openly acknowledging the supremacy of the new government, were suspected of being still in the interests of the late king. Rumors of every sort were abroad. Nicholson himself was known to be an adherent to the Catholic faith, as well as many of his party; and this fact increased the distrust of the people. A rumor was spread that the Papists had plotted to attack the Protestants while at church in the fort, massacre them all, take possession of the government, and erect the standard of the Pope and King James.

These extravagant rumors seem to have been groundless, but they, nevertheless, excited general consternation. The people of Long Island deposed their magistrates and chose others in their stead; and also

* Or Flypsen, originally from Bohemia.

dispatched a large body of militia to New York, "to seize the fort, and to keep off popery, French invasion and slavery."

The militia force of New York at this time consisted of five train-bands, of which Nicholas Bayard was colonel, and Jacob Leisler, senior captain. Of Bayard, we have already spoken. Jacob Leisler, who became in this struggle the hero of one of the most eventful epochs in the history of New York, was one of the oldest and wealthiest of the ancient Dutch burghers. He emigrated from Frankfort to New Amsterdam in the ship *Otter*, in the year 1660, as a soldier in the service of the West India Company. Soon after his arrival, he married Elsje Loockermans, widow of Cornelius Vanderveer, and thus became uncle of Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Nicholas Bayard, the foes who afterwards brought him to the scaffold. He engaged at once in commerce, and soon became one of the leading shipping merchants of the city. On the cession of the city to the English, he took oaths of allegiance to the new government, and was among those who contributed, in 1672, towards the repairs of Fort James. Two years after, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the forced loan levied by Colve, at which time his property was valued at fifteen thousand guilders. In 1678, on a voyage to Europe, he was taken prisoner by the Turks, and forced to pay a heavy ransom for his liberty. On his return, in 1683, he received the appointment of Commissioner of the Admiralty from Governor Dongan. He had two children, Jacob and Mary, the latter of whom married Jacob Milborne, the companion of her father's prosperity and

misfortunes, and, after his death, Abraham Gouverneur; his son grew up to vindicate his father's memory, and to wring a tardy justice from the hands of his judges. He was well known as a zealous opponent of the Catholic faith. In Albany, in 1675, he had been imprisoned by Andros for his opposition to Rensselaer, an Episcopal clergyman and suspected Papist, who had been sent to the province by the Duke of York, and had thus won the confidence of the Protestant party, who in this emergency, naturally chose him as their leader.

The public money, amounting to £773 12s., had been deposited for safe keeping in the fort, which was garrisoned by a few soldiers, under the command of a Catholic ensign. Anxious to secure the control of this treasure, the citizens assembled on the 2d of June, 1689, and marching in a body to the house of Leisler, requested him to lead them to the seizure of the fort; then, upon his refusal, proceeded thither, headed by Ensign Stoll, and entered the fortress without resistance. On learning of this capture, Leisler repaired to the fort with forty-seven men, where he was welcomed by the citizens and acknowledged their leader.

The people were now openly divided into two parties—the democratic and aristocratic,—the Leislerian and anti-Leislerian. The former met together, and chose a Committee of Safety, consisting of Richard Denton, Samuel Edsall, Theunis Roelofse, Pieter Delanoy, Jean Marest, Mathias Harvey, Daniel Le Klercke, Johannes Vermilye, Thomas Williams and William Lawrence, for the immediate government of the province. This committee appointed Jacob Leisler captain of the fort, with

full power to preserve the peace and to suppress any rebellion until the arrival of instructions from England.

In the meantime, the city militia had joined the popular party, and it was agreed that the fort should be held by each of the five train-bands in turn. On the evening of the capture, it was resigned by Leisler to Captain Lodowick and his company. The next morning, a rumor was circulated that three ships were coming up the bay, upon which the train-bands hastily assembled in the fort, where the five captains and four hundred men, together with seventy volunteers from Westchester, signed an agreement to hold the fort for William and Mary.

Nicholson and his party, meanwhile, had not been idle. No sooner had Leisler entered the fort than, hastily calling together the city officials, they resolved themselves into a convention in opposition to the Committee of Safety, and resolved to take measures to counteract the revolutionists. Thinking the public money unsafe in the fort, they determined to remove it to the house of Frederick Philipse ; but Leisler refused to deliver it to their order. They next made an effort to secure the custom-house revenues. The people had already refused payment of duties to the collector, Matthias Ploverman, under the pretext that he was a Catholic. Nicholson now dispatched Nicholas Bayard and three others to take his place. On arriving at the custom-house, they found it guarded by militia. The Committee of Safety had already appointed their own collector, and armed men were sent on board all vessels arriving in port.

Foiled in this quarter, Colonel Bayard repaired to the fort to look after his refractory train-bands. He found

them assembled on the Bowling Green, and ordered them to disperse. They refused to obey. Unable to enforce his commands, he returned to the City Hall at Coenties Slip, where Nicholson had assembled the rest of the council. It was not long before Captain Lodowick, the captain of the day, came to demand the surrender of the keys of the fort. Nicholson, finding that the militia had declared against him, and that resistance would be in vain, reluctantly resigned them ; and hastily breaking up his council, fled to a ship in the harbor, and set sail for England, leaving the government in the hands of Leisler and his party. Bayard took refuge at Albany with Colonel Peter Schuyler,* the mayor of that city, who also refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Leisler. Van Cortlandt, who still claimed to act as mayor, remained in New York.

On the 16th of August, the Committee of Safety authorized Leisler to act as commander-in-chief of the province until further instructions should arrive from England. The neighboring colonies did not delay to recognize his authority. Massachusetts approved his conduct, and the General Court of Connecticut dispatched two deputies to congratulate him upon his success, and to promise him assistance if necessary. These deputies brought news of the proclamation of the new sovereigns in England, upon which Leisler immediately ordered them to be proclaimed at the sound of the trumpet at the fort and the City Hall. He then went energetically to work to restore order to public affairs.

* So well known for his salutary influence over the Indians.

Knowing that the French court had espoused the cause of the deposed king, and that a war with France must ensue, he set about repairing the fortifications and providing for the public safety. He stockaded the fort and erected a battery of seven guns to the west of it, strengthened the fortifications on the land side, and placed a garrison of fifty men in the fort, besides a company of militia that mounted guard every night, after which he dispatched a private letter to the king, relating the particulars of the seizure of the fort, and accounting for the expenditure of the public money, the most of which had been swallowed up in the repairs.

On the 29th of September, 1689, by order of the Committee of Safety, the people assembled in their wards and elected their aldermen and councilmen, and for the first time, their mayor also. Pieter Delanoy was chosen mayor, Johannes Johnson, sheriff, and Abraham Gouverneur, clerk. Mr. Delanoy was a native born Hollander, who had emigrated to New Amsterdam in the days of Stuyvesant, and engaged in trade with signal success. He was warmly attached to the popular party, and clung faithfully to it through its changing fortunes. On the 14th of October, 1689, he was proclaimed mayor by Leisler, and on the same day he took the oaths of office, together with the Common Council, at the City Hall at Coenties Slip, now in the possession of the popular party.

The city was emphatically divided against itself. Each party had its mayor and common council, who claimed to administer the city affairs, and each met and transacted the business of the city, wholly ignoring

the existence of the other. Delanoy, on one side, had possession of the City Hall ; Van Cortlandt, on the other, held the charter, books, seals and papers. The newly-elected mayor sent to demand the latter, but without avail, and so the matter rested.

The election increased instead of allaying the popular agitation, and Bayard, still at Albany, fomented it by every means in his power. On the 20th of October, he addressed a letter to the militia, declaring that Jacob Leisler and his associates had illegally invaded their majesties' fort and subverted all lawful authority, and commanding the train-bands as their colonel to refuse all aid to these usurpers, and to continue to obey the civil government established by Sir Edmund Andros, which was still in full force, and was the only legal authority. This letter was productive of no effect. The soldiers and the majority of the citizens continued faithful to Leisler. Long Island, Westchester and Orange Counties also recognized his authority, but the Albanians continued to regard him as a usurper, and to obey the authorities established by the late monarchy.

In the meantime, war had broken out on the frontier. France, espousing the cause of the exiled king, had declared war against England, and the French in the Canadas, with their Indian allies, the Hurons, threatened the little settlements that had sprung up along the northern frontier with speedy destruction. Terrified at the danger, the Albanians resolved to seek assistance from New York ; and in September, a convention of the civil authorities dispatched a messenger to Leisler to entreat him to furnish them with men, ammunition and money

Leisler made no reply to the convention, who held their commissions from James II. He sent some powder and guns to the military officers, but refused them any soldiers, on account of some alleged slight which his people had received in Albany; and urged the Albanians to send deputies to New York to consult with him for the public good. This they refused to do, and asked assistance from Connecticut, which two months after, sent them eighty-seven men.

About the same time, Leisler dispatched his son-in-law and secretary, Milborne, who had arrived from England the preceding summer, with a force of fifty men to their aid; but the Albanians, suspecting that this expedition was covertly designed to gain possession of the fort and overthrow the existing government, determined that they should not be permitted to take command in the city. The force, indeed, was too small for any such purpose, but Milborne doubtless entertained the design, and relied on the aid which he might receive from the citizens. The latter, however, were averse to a change, and, yielding to the persuasions of their officers, had already pledged themselves at a public meeting to maintain the present authorities. The troops, on their arrival, were not suffered to land, but Milborne was invited to come alone into the city. He repaired to the City Hall, and at once commenced to harangue the people, telling them that their present charter was null and void, and urging them to depose their officers and choose new ones in their stead, as they now had a right to govern themselves. He also declared that he was authorized by the Committee of Safety of the province to administer affairs a

Albany ; and, by virtue of this authority, he demanded that an account should be furnished him of the arms and stores in the fort, and that an election should be held for both civil and military officers. The convention refused to acknowledge his commission, and forbade him to come within the gates of the city unless he would consent to submit to their authority. He next attempted to force an entrance, when the guns of the fort were turned upon him, and seeing that, with his small force, he could effect nothing, he wisely determined to return to New York.

In the month of December, a packet arrived from England, addressed to Francis Nicholson, or to those who, for the time being, administered the government in the province of New York. This packet contained a commission empowering the person who was then at the head of the government to appoint a council and to act as lieutenant-governor until further orders. Hearing of the arrival of this precious document, Nicholas Bayard came secretly to New York, and seeking out Riggs, the bearer of the packet, endeavored to persuade him that Leisler was a usurper, and that it rightfully belonged to himself and Philipse as members of the late council. His arguments failed to satisfy Riggs, who, finding that Leisler had been conducting the government for nearly seven months with the consent of the people and in behalf of William and Mary, delivered the papers to him as their rightful possessor. Leisler showed them to the Committee of Safety, and, by their advice, assumed the title of lieutenant-governor, and appointed a council of eight persons to assist him in administering the government. This council consisted of Pieter Delanoy, Samuel Staats,

Hendrick Jansen, Johannes Vermilye, Gerardus Beekman, Samuel Edsall, Thomas Williams and William Lawrence.

Thinking himself now the legal governor of the province and sure of his position, Leisler resolved to restore order by energetic measures. The party of his enemies was constantly increasing. His fellow-citizens were jealous of his sudden elevation, and the leaders of the aristocratic faction used every effort to foment this feeling, and to stir them up to open rebellion. They even raised a street riot, from which he narrowly escaped with his life. The drums were beat and the military called out, and for a few minutes the result of the struggle seemed doubtful. The riot was finally quelled, several of the combatants were thrown into prison, and warrants were issued for the arrest of Bayard, Van Cortlandt and several others who had been implicated in the affair. Van Cortlandt escaped, but Bayard and William Nichols were arrested and imprisoned in the cells at the City Hall, which then served also as the city prison, and a court was summoned to try them for treason. Terrified at his danger, Bayard sent a submissive petition to the governor, acknowledging his errors, and entreating pardon in the humblest terms. His supplication stayed the proceedings and saved him from death, although it did not obtain his release. He remained in prison fourteen months until the arrival of Governor Sloughter, then emerged to wreak a terrible vengeance upon his jailer. Meanwhile, his party did not slacken their zeal, but stirred up a powerful opposition to Leisler.

A new event occurred to attract the public notice

The frontier warfare still continued, with its scenes of savage barbarity. In February, 1690, it reached its climax. A party of French and Indians fell at midnight upon the little village of Schenectady, and transformed the peaceful settlement into a scene of ruin. Men, women and children were shot, scalped or carried into captivity; the village was plundered and set on fire, and but one house escaped the general conflagration. A few escaped half-naked through the snow to carry the news to their neighbors at Albany.

This fearful catastrophe opened the eyes of the Albanians to their folly in rejecting the aid of New York at a time when union was so much needed, and in wasting their time in disputing the legality of commissions which would so soon be settled by direct instructions from England. The most natural conclusion in the existing state of affairs was, certainly, that when the authority of James II. ceased, the authority of his officers ceased also, and the government reverted to the people until further instructions should be received from the new powers. Such was the interpretation of the mass of the people. But the officials who had been commissioned by the late government naturally availed themselves of every quibble whereby to retain their powers, and being rich in means, though poor in numbers, they were, at least, partially successful. It was a combat between the aristocrats and the people. In New York, the democracy triumphed; in Albany, the aristocracy. Leisler, who now considered himself lieutenant-governor, by virtue of the royal commission, again sent Milborne with a strong body of troops to force Albany to submit to his authority.

The citizens, terrified at the massacre of Schenectady, no longer attempted resistance, but quietly surrendered the fort into his hands.

Having thus succeeded in gaining control of the province, Leisler summoned a convention of delegates from Massachusetts and Connecticut to meet him at New York to consult together on the common danger. This convention assembled on the 1st of May, 1690, and determined to fit out an expedition against the Canadas. Leisler promised to join with Connecticut in dispatching a force of nine hundred men to attack Montreal, while Massachusetts pledged herself to send a fleet and an army against Quebec. The expeditions were immediately fitted out, but both proved signally unsuccessful.

The enemies of Leisler, in the meantime, had used every effort to asperse his motives and actions to the king. Though he had always administered the government in the name of William and Mary, he was represented as in a state of actual rebellion, and denounced to the English court as a hypocrite and arch-traitor. Much of this calumny was due to Francis Nicholson, who had been received with favor on his return, and who had avenged himself on Leisler for his forcible expulsion from the government by intriguing against him in the English court. Immediately upon his accession to the government, Leisler had dispatched a memorial and private letter to the king, informing him of the whole affair; but these papers, written in imperfect English—a language which Leisler both wrote and spoke badly—were wrongly construed. Nicholson did not cease to represent Leisler to the king as an ambitious usurper.

who had acted from aversion to the Church of England and with an eye to his own private interests, rather than from any devotion to the Prince of Orange. Misled by these reports, the king made no reply to Leisler, although he returned thanks to the colonies for their fidelity ; and soon after appointed Henry Sloughter governor of New York. This was a most injudicious choice. It is true that the appointment of a new governor was needed to restore harmony among the contending factions, but a worse one than Sloughter could hardly have been found. According to the admission of one of the king's own officers, he was "licentious, avaricious and poor,"—a broken-down adventurer who came to repair his wasted fortunes from the revenues of the office without thought or care for the welfare of his subjects. But the enemies of Leisler rejoiced at the appointment. They felt themselves sure of the new governor, whose necessities would bind him to the wealthiest party, and saw that the star of their adversary was near its setting.

In 1690, Governor Sloughter set sail from England with several ships and a considerable body of troops. By some accident, the vessels parted company, and the first ship that arrived was the *Beaver*, commanded by Major Richard Ingoldsby, who had received the appointment of lieutenant-governor. The *Beaver* arrived in January, 1691. Ingoldsby at once announced the appointment of Sloughter, and in his name demanded that the fort should be surrendered to him for the accommodation of his soldiers. Leisler, in reply, offered quarters for his men, but refused to surrender the fort into his hands until he had first produced the royal commission. This was

impossible ; the papers were in the hands of Slougher, and Ingoldsby had no credentials whatever in his possession. Under these circumstances, it was but natural for Leisler to refuse his demands ; but, urged on by the opposite party, he issued a proclamation, calling on the people and magistrates to aid him in enforcing the royal commission, and branding all as traitors who refused to obey. Leisler, in turn, replied by another proclamation, protesting against his proceedings, and warning him, at his peril, not to attempt any hostility against the fort or city.

Ingoldsby immediately landed his soldiers, and proceeded to blockade the fort by land and sea, while Leisler gathered his friends about him, and prepared for future action. For seven weeks the city was thus blockaded. During this time, the conduct of Leisler seems to have been prudent and courteous. A shot was fired at Ingoldsby's troops as they were returning one night to their ship—he used every effort to detect the offender. He ordered the soldiers to be quartered in the City Hall and entreated the citizens not to molest them. While he steadfastly refused to deliver the fort to Ingoldsby until he should produce a royal commission, he constantly spoke of him in respectful terms, and declared his entire willingness to surrender the fort to any one authorized to receive it. Ingoldsby, on his side, who was wholly under the empire of the anti-Leislerian party, spared no pains to annoy and irritate the governor. He paraded his soldiers about the fort, shut out supplies, interrupted the mayor and common council while engaged in the discharge of their duties, and endeavored by a thousand petty annoyances to provoke

Leisler to open combat. His efforts were unavailing ; the governor intrenched himself in the fort and patiently awaited the coming of Sloughter to free him from all perplexities. He little dreamed of the manner in which this would be accomplished.

On the 19th of March, 1691, the vessel of Sloughter entered the harbor. Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and others of their party, hastened on board, and, greeting him with the warmest protestations of fidelity, escorted him to the City Hall, where he published his commission and took the oaths of office at eleven o'clock at night. Without heeding the lateness of the hour, he immediately dispatched Ingoldsby with a party of soldiers to take possession of the fort. Leisler, who did not know Sloughter, and who suspected some snare, instead of surrendering the fort in obedience to the order, sent a letter, written in broken English, by Ensign Stoll, to the governor, charging Stoll, who had seen Sloughter in Europe, to look at him well, and be sure that he was no counterfeit, got up for the occasion. Sloughter, who suspected something of this, informed Stoll that he intended to make himself known in New York as well as in England, and ordered Major Ingoldsby to go a second time to take possession of the fort, and at the same time, to release Colonel Bayard and Mr. Nichols from their imprisonment to attend his majesty's service, they having been appointed members of the council. He also ordered Leisler, Milborne, and the others " who called themselves the council," to come to him at once, without loss of time. Leisler refused either to surrender the fort or to release the prisoners, but sent Milborne and Delanoy to make terms with the

governor, and to endeavor to procure some security for his own safety, which he felt was in imminent danger. Slougher at once imprisoned the envoys, and sent Ingoldsby a third time to take possession of the fort, which Leisler again refused to him.

Early the next morning, Leisler sent a letter to the governor, surrendering the fort, and apologizing for holding it after his arrival. That he had done so, was unwise, but certainly not indicative of treasonable designs. He had hoped to retain possession of it, that he might in some degree counteract the influence of his enemies by a personal surrender. He well knew that to yield it to Ingoldsby would be to place his life in the power of the opposite faction; but the delay by which he sought to escape was made the most effectual instrument of his ruin.

No notice whatever was taken of the letter. Slougher and his friends met at the City Hall, where a council was sworn in, consisting of Joseph Dudley, Frederick Philipse, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Gabriel Minvielle, Chudley Brooke, Thomas Willett, William Pinhorne and William Nichols—all sworn foes of Leisler. This done, twenty-nine papers from the English government relative to Leisler, which had been first *sent to England from Albany*, were delivered to the secretary, and Jacob Leisler was brought in a prisoner. The king's letter, from which he claimed to derive his authority, was taken from him, and he was committed to the guard-house with eleven of his adherents. At the same meeting, the governor appointed John Lawrence mayor of the city.

Leisler and his companions remained in the guard-

house until the 23d of March, when the governor and council met at the fort, and appointed a committee to examine them with a view to their removal to the city prison. The next day the council met again, and organized a special court of eight members for the trial of the prisoners. Sir Robert Robertson, William Smith, William Pinhorne, John Lawrence, Jasper Hicks, Richard Ingoldsby, Isaac Arnold and John Young were appointed judges by the governor, for the trial of the prisoners on a charge of murder and rebellion.

On the 30th of March, the court met for the trial of the prisoners. Leisler refused to plead, alleging that the court had no jurisdiction in the case, but that it belonged to his majesty himself to declare whether he had acted under legal authority, and insisting that the letter addressed to Nicholson, or, in his absence, to the chiefs of the government, had entitled him to act as lieutenant-governor. The pliant judges, instead of deciding the question, submitted it to the opinion of the governor and council. They decided in the negative ; Leisler was pronounced a usurper, and, on the 13th of April, both he and Milborne were condemned to death as rebels and traitors.

Notwithstanding the prejudices of Slougher against Leisler, he feared to risk the displeasure of the king by summarily putting to death the man who had first raised his standard in New York, and who had constantly professed to act under his authority. He hesitated, talked of a reprieve, and flatly refused to sign his death-warrant until it had first received the sanction of the king. But the enemies of Leisler were thirsting for his blood. Bayard, embittered by his long imprisonment, burned for

revenge, and Nichols and Van Cortlandt were not slow to second him. On the 14th of May, the council met and urged the governor to carry the sentence into execution. The next day, the petition was seconded by the new assembly, the speaker of which was a declared enemy of Leisler. But Sloughter still hesitated, and the council determined to gain by stratagem what they could not by entreaty. Knowing the weakness of the governor, they invited him to a feast; then, when he was overcome with wine, cajoled him into signing the death-warrant.

The fatal signature once procured, they dared not await the possibility of its revocation. An officer stole with it from the scene of festivity to the city prison, and ordered the victims to be led out for immediate execution. The council, meanwhile, plied the governor with wine, and amused him into forgetfulness of the fate of the prisoners.

In the midst of a cold and drizzling spring rain, Leisler and Milborne were led out for execution. The scaffold was erected in the square at the lower end of the Park, on his own grounds, in full view of his country-seat. The weeping people thronged about him, execrating those who had deprived them of their leader. A few members of the council stole from the scene of revelry, and came to witness the consummation of their vengeance. Leisler's dying speech was full of humility and forgiveness. "Why must you die?" said he to Milborne. "You have been but a servant, doing my will. What I have done has been but in the service of my king and queen, for the Protestant cause, and for the good of my country; and for this I must die. Some errors I have

“committed; for these I ask pardon. I forgive my “enemies as I hope to be forgiven, and I entreat my “children to do the same.” Not so humble was the youthful Milborne. Turning to Robert Livingston,* who had stationed himself near the scaffold, he said to him fiercely: “You have caused my death, but for “this will I implead you before the bar of God.”—The drop fell; the populace rushed forth with shrieks and groans to snatch some relic of their martyred leader, and the last act was ended of one of the most eventful dramas ever enacted within the city of New York. The bodies were taken down, and interred, by Leisler’s own request, in his garden near the site of Tammany Hall. Thus perished the last Dutch governor of New York.

Leisler was truly a martyr of the people. They had chosen him to stand at their head and to aid them in preserving their civil and religious liberty when left without a ruler and in danger of falling a prey to a clique of ambitious men. Under their authority he acted until it was, as he thought, confirmed by the king. On the arrival of the new governor, he surrendered the fort on the day that the council was sworn in; and they had no right to demand it before. Yet he was immediately arrested without a hearing, thrown into prison like a common malefactor, and sentenced to death, not by the judgment of the court that had been appointed for his trial, but by the decision of a council composed of his bitterest enemies. But it was the people instead of Leisler who were struck at, in truth. It was then, as

* Emigrated about 1672, originally from Scotland.

later, the policy of the English government to crush every symptom of popular liberty in her colonies, and to rule them with a rod of iron. Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milborne were the first victims in the cause of freedom, and the pioneers of the long train that followed on the fields of the Revolution more than a century after.

Four years afterwards, the son of Jacob Leisler did justice to the memory of his father by prosecuting the appeal which had been denied him. On the 11th of March, 1695, the Lords Commissioners of Trade, to whom it had been referred, decided that the deceased had been condemned and executed according to law, but that their families were fit objects of royal compassion, and ordered the confiscated estates to be restored. But this did not satisfy the friends of the victims, who appealed from this decision to Parliament, and by the aid of powerful influence, obtained the same year a reversal of the attainder. This act stated explicitly that Leisler had been appointed commander-in-chief until their majesties' pleasure should be further known; that he was afterwards confirmed in his authority by their majesties' letter, dated July 30, 1689; that, while he held this power, by virtue of said authority, Major Ingoldsby had arrived in January and demanded the surrender of the fort without producing any legal authority; that Leisler, pursuant to the trust reposed in him, kept possession of the fort until the following March, when Henry Sloughter arrived late in the evening; that Leisler, having received notice of his coming, delivered the fort to him early the next morning;

and consequently, that all acts, judgments and attainders were declared reversed by the decision of parliament. Three years after, the bodies of Leisler and Milborne were disinterred and reburied with great ceremony in the old Dutch church in Garden street.

Sloughter was now firmly established as governor, and affairs began to assume a settled aspect. But the rancor of the late struggle did not soon die out, and for the next quarter of a century, the supremacy of the city was warmly contested by the Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. The parties transmitted the feud to their children, and the vestiges of it are even now to be found among the descendants of these early colonists.

As may readily be inferred from preceding events, the first Assembly that met under the new administration was wholly devoted to the interests of the governor. The laws which they framed, and which came to be recognized as the first acknowledged code in the province, were molded to suit his interests, and to make him wholly independent of the people, by granting him a permanent revenue, together with the sole right of issuing warrants for moneys from the public treasury. The Charter of Liberties, which had been granted by the Duke of York in Dongan's administration, was declared null and void. The single popular law passed by them, declaring that it was the people's *right* instead of *privilege* to be represented in general assembly was vetoed by the king. The old Court of Assizes was abolished, and a Supreme Court, consisting of five judges, instituted in its stead. Of this, Dudley was made chief-justice with a salary of a hundred and thirty pounds, and Johnson,

Smith, Van Cortlandt, and Pinhorne were appointed his associates.

In 1691, Abraham De Peyster, captain of one of the train-bands, and a friend of Leisler, was appointed to the mayoralty. Mr. De Peyster had taken an active part on the side of the people in the late agitation, and his appointment was well calculated to meet their favor. He held the office for three years, after which he received the appointment of treasurer which he held until his death in 1721.

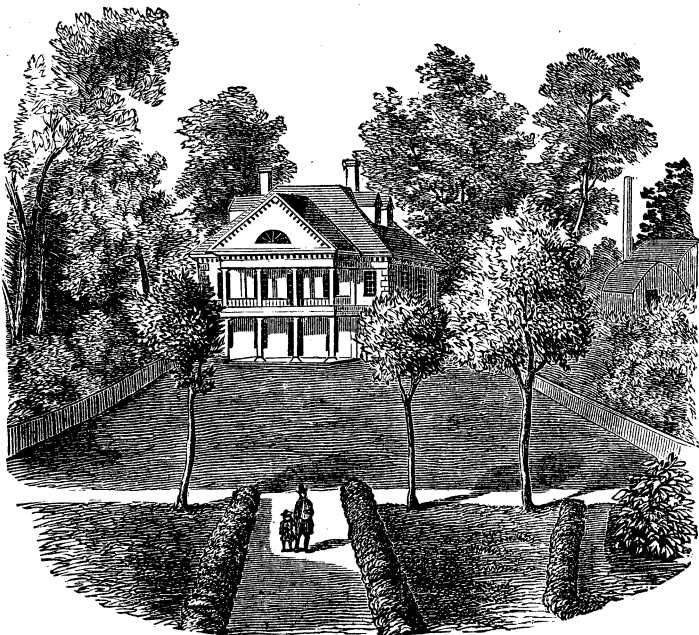
Comparative tranquillity being now restored the citizens began to turn their attention to public improvements. Water street was extended from Old Slip to Fulton street, and Pine, Cedar, and the neighboring streets were laid out through the old Damen farm. Two markets for meat were established, the one in Broadway, opposite the fort, and the other at Coenties Slip; and no cattle were permitted to be slaughtered within the city gates.

The city determined to assume the support of the public paupers, and each alderman was ordered to make a return of the poor in his ward. Several were soon recommended as objects of charity, to whom a pittance was granted from the public treasury, no house being as yet provided for their reception. The poisonous weeds, stramonium and others, that grew in such abundance on the island, were ordered to be rooted up from the highways, and every citizen was directed to keep the street clean before his door.

In the same year, it was decided to build another church up-town, and the officers of the church of St. Nicholas purchased a building-lot in Garden street, now

Exchange place, 125 feet front by 180 feet rear, for which they paid a hundred and eighty pieces of eight, on which a church was soon after erected.

Many other municipal regulations, concerning hucksters, bakers, butchers and others were established, which were then esteemed of vital importance, but the minutiae of which would now be wearisome to the general reader. A single item we must notice as conveying an idea of the punishments practised in olden times. A pillory, cage, whipping-post, and ducking-stool were set up in the vicinity of the City Hall, and hither were brought all vagrants, slanderers, pilferers, and truant children to be exposed for public show, or to receive such severer chastisement as their offences might warrant.



The Bowery House.



Old Dutch Church in Garden Street. Erected in 1696.

On the 23d of July, 1691, Sloughter died suddenly. So hostile was the spirit of the times and so bitter the animosities that existed against him, that it was at first asserted that he had been poisoned by the Leisle-rians, but this charge was disproved by a *post mortem* examination. His remains were deposited in the Stuyvesant vault, next to those of the old Dutch governor, The charge of affairs devolved upon Dudley, Major Ingoldsby, to whom it belonged of right, being absent in Curaçoa.

CHAPTER VIII.

1692—1702.

Administration of Fletcher—Progress of the City—Piratical Depredations—Lord Bellamont Governor.

ON the 29th of August, 1692, Benjamin Fletcher, the newly-appointed governor, arrived at New York. He was also invested with the government of Pennsylvania and Delaware, of which Penn had recently been deprived by reason of suspicions of his loyalty, and was commissioned to command the militia of Connecticut and New Jersey—a duty which he found it somewhat difficult to perform. The frontier warfare still continued, and New York, who, from her geographical position, became the English bulwark against the French in the Canadas, had petitioned that the other colonies should contribute to her defence. The request was granted, and Fletcher came instructed to require the southern and eastern provinces to furnish their quota of men and money towards carrying on the war. The order was grumblingly received ; the Quakers excused themselves under pretext of conscientious scruples, but finally voted a small sum on condition that it should not be used for the war ; Virginia raised five hundred pounds as the extent of her

resources ; Maryland furnished a small sum under protest, Connecticut sent no money under plea of an empty treasury, but promised to supply volunteers when needed, and Massachusetts flatly refused to furnish either, alleging that she had her own frontier to defend. The whole burden of the war was thus thrown upon New York, despite her exhausted treasury, and her population, decimated by the tragedies lately enacted on the frontier.

The new governor was despotic, passionate, avaricious and fanatical withal, it being his darling project to make the Church of England the established church of the land. He at once attached himself to the anti-Leislerians, and continued a sworn friend to them during his administration. [He retained the council of his predecessor with the exception of Joseph Dudley and William Pinhorne, who were replaced by Caleb Heathcote and John Young. Dudley was also superseded in the chief-justice-ship by William Smith. He returned at once to England. when he obtained the governorship of the Isle of Wight.

[On the arrival of the new governor, the mayor and corporation of the city met and appropriated twenty pounds from the public treasury towards a public dinner in his honor. This was a politic movement on their part ; they were anxious to dispose him favorably towards a petition which they had to offer. Vigorous efforts were being made by the towns outside to break up the monopoly of bolting flour and making bread for exportation, which had been granted to the city several years before, and which had grown to be so valuable a privilege. The numerous laws that had been passed to prevent its infringement had proved unavailing, and the citizens

hoped to obtain the concurrence of the governor in securing this right exclusively to the city. The dinner was followed by an address entreating the governor to petition to their majesties for a confirmation of the city charter, and for the continuation of the bolting and baking monopoly; and also entreating that the duties of clerk of the market, water-bailiff and coroner might be included in the functions of the mayoralty.

That nothing might be spared to secure the governor's assistance in the matter, the city authorities presented another address to him a few days after, couched in the most flattering terms, in which they expressed their joy that so wise and pious a governor should have been set to rule over them, and entreated him to take the decaying state of their afflicted city into favorable consideration, and become its benefactor by securing to it that monopoly without which it must perish. The recorder was also directed to prepare an address to William and Mary, thanking them for the blessing which they had conferred on the province by appointing Fletcher the governor thereof. Nor did their efforts stop here. On his return from a subsequent voyage to Albany whither he had gone to direct matters in respect to the frontier warfare, the mayor and corporation appropriated one hundred pounds for the purchase of a gold cup, to be presented to him in testimony of their joy at his safe arrival. They let slip no opportunity to load him with fulsome compliments, and to testify to their approbation of all his acts. But this servility ^{availed} them nothing; in the autumn of 1696, the bolting-act was repealed by the

Assembly, and the commerce in bread and flour thrown open to all competitors.

News having been received of a projected French invasion, it was determined, soon after Fletcher's arrival, to erect a new line of fortifications across the island in the place of those now in ruins, and a hundred pounds were appropriated for the purpose by the corporation. All Indians and negroes who were not already engaged in military service were ordered to assist in the work, and the citizens generally were directed to give it all the assistance in their power. It was also determined to erect a battery upon a platform laid upon the point of rocks under the fort, so as to command both rivers; and the filling in of the present Battery was also commenced. Orders were given to see that the guns of the fort were mounted and fit for use, and that there was a sufficiency of ammunition.

In 1693, William Bradford, the Philadelphia printer, having become involved in difficulties in consequence of his connection with George Keith, who had attempted to produce a revolution in Quakerism, removed to New York, and established the first printing press in the city. He was at first employed by the city authorities to print the corporation laws, and a few years after established a newspaper, which proved a successful speculation.*

* New York was the third of the Anglo-American colonies in which printing was introduced—Massachusetts and Pennsylvania preceding it. The first thing printed in this city was a small folio volume of the laws of the colony, executed by Bradford in the first year of his arrival. The next of which we have any account was a small 24mo. volume of 51 pages, entitled, "A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman leaving the University, concerning his Behavior and Conversation in the World,

In 1694, Charles Lodowick, whom we have already seen as captain of the train-bands in the affair of Leisler, was appointed mayor. Mr. Lodowick was a prominent merchant, the son of one of the early traders in the city. He retained the office for but one year, after which he received the appointment of lieutenant-colonel of the province. He subsequently removed to England, where he died.

The chief aim of Fletcher, next to his personal aggrandizement, was the introduction into the province of the English church and the English language. This was contrary to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants, who still spoke the Dutch language and adhered to the Dutch church, which they regarded as the established church of the province. This church was attached to the Classis of Amsterdam, which was made a pretext by Fletcher for substituting the Church of England in its stead. The first Assembly that convened after his arrival, though they approved his conduct, and supplied him liberally with money for the defence of the frontiers, refused to listen to his intimations on this head. The next Assembly, which convened in the September of 1693, proved more compliant. Besides granting him a permanent revenue for five years and giving him control of the treasury, they passed an act providing for the

by R. L. Printed and sold by W. Bradford, Printer to His Majesty, King William, at the Bible in New York, 1696." A copy of this rare work was quite recently sold at the auction sale of the library of the late E. B. Corwin, for the low sum of \$12 50. On the 16th of October, 1725, the first newspaper in the city of New York was issued by Bradford, with the following heading: "NEW YORK GAZETTE. From Monday, Oct. 16th, to Oct. 23d, 1725." The paper was issued weekly, and was printed on a small foolscap sheet.

building of a church in the city of New York, another in Richmond, two in Westchester, and two in Suffolk, in each of which was to be settled a Protestant minister on a salary of from forty to a hundred pounds, to be paid by a tax levied on the inhabitants. This was less than the governor desired—he returned the act, which had been sent to him for approval, with an amendment granting him the power of inducting every incumbent, which the Assembly refused to pass. Upon this he called them before him, and angrily broke up the session, telling them that he would let them know that he would collate or suspend any minister that he chose, and that, while he stayed in the government, he should take care that neither heresy, schism, nor rebellion should be preached among them. The bill subsequently passed without the amendment, and the word Protestant being construed to mean Episcopal, all the inhabitants were compelled to support the Church of England, whatever might be their religious opinion. In 1696, Trinity church was begun under the provisions of this act, and was completed and opened for worship on the 6th of February of the following year by the Rev. William Vesey. The church was a small square edifice, with a very tall spire. A pew in it was appropriated to the mayor and common council, and a sermon was annually preached to them on the day of the city election. In 1703, a cemetery was donated it by the corporation, on condition that it should ever after be kept neatly fenced, and that the burial fees should not exceed eighteenpence for children and three shillings for adults; and so great was the immigration into this city of the dead, that, at

the period of the Revolution, its inmates numbered more than a hundred and sixty thousand. The old graveyard of the Dutch burghers in Broadway above Morris street, had, in 1677, been cut up into four building lots and sold at auction to the highest bidder. In 1703, the King's Farm was granted to the church by Queen Anne, thus becoming the celebrated Trinity church property. The church was enlarged in 1735, and again in 1737, to meet the increasing wants of the congregation, and thus remained until it fell a victim to the conflagration of 1776, which laid waste the greater portion of the city. It lay in ruins until 1788, when it was again rebuilt, and consecrated by Bishop Provost in 1791. In 1839, it was again demolished to make room for the present edifice, which was opened in 1846.

The parish was afterwards made to include St. George's in Beekman street, erected in 1752 ; St. Paul's in Broadway, erected in 1766 ; St. John's in Varick street, erected in 1807, and Trinity Chapel in Twenty-fifth street, between Broadway and Sixth Avenue, erected in 1854, all chapels, dependent upon Trinity as the parish church.

The frontier warfare had continued meanwhile, and Fletcher's conduct in this had been characterized with decision and promptness, thanks, in part, to the advice of Peter Schuyler, who knew the Indians intimately, and who had advised Fletcher on his arrival to form a firm league with the Iroquois, who formed a powerful barrier between the English settlements and the Canadas. It was the policy of the French government to exterminate these tribes as the greatest obstacle in the way of

their designs, then to seize Albany, and, proceeding down the river, take possession of New York, and thus make themselves masters of the province. For this purpose, they dispatched Frontenac with a large army in 1696 to invade the territory of the Iroquois. The expedition proved unsuccessful, and before it could be renewed, a treaty of peace was concluded at Ryswick between France and England which definitively put an end to the war.

The city had long suffered from the rapacity of government officials and the reflected horrors of a distant warfare; it had now another scourge to encounter. The system of privateering had long been in existence, and had not only been connived at but openly encouraged by the European governments, who deemed it an excellent means of annoying their enemies' commerce without trouble or expense to themselves. The adventurous privateers, emboldened by their successes, soon ripened into buccaneers, and, bearing down upon ships of all nations, plundered them of their cargoes, then scuttled and sunk them, that none might escape to tell the tale. The American coasts were infested by pirates, no vessel was safe upon the waters, and the ocean commerce was almost destroyed. New York suffered especially from these depredations. Her merchant vessels were rifled and burnt within sight of her shores, and the pirates even entered her harbors and seized her ships as they lay at anchor. Complaint to the authorities availed nothing; nearly every government official was implicated in the nefarious trade, and it was suspected, almost with certainty, that Fletcher himself was confederated

with the pirates and a sharer in their booty. The corsairs boldly entered the ports, sure that their money would purchase protection, and many of the merchants, finding legal trade suspended, were tempted to embark in the traffic and to lend assistance to the successful buccaneers.

The interruption to commerce at length grew so alarming that the English government found it necessary to interfere in the matter, and to take vigorous measures for the suppression of piracy. Fletcher, who was accused on every side of protecting the corsairs, was recalled, and Lord Bellamont was appointed in his stead, with instructions to extirpate the pirates from the seas. He received his appointment in 1695,—although he did not enter upon the duties of his office until nearly three years after—and immediately began to take measures to follow out his instructions. He first urged the government to fit out an armed force to cruise against the buccaneers, but as all the naval force was needed in the war with France, which was not yet ended, the request was refused. He then organized a stock company, in which the king himself, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chancellor Somers, the Earls of Oxford and Romney, Robert Livingston and several others, became shareholders, for the purpose of fitting out a privateering expedition against the pirates. Six thousand pounds were soon raised for the enterprise. The Adventure Galley, a fine ship, manned with sixty sailors and thirty guns, was at once fitted out, and the command of it intrusted to Captain William Kidd, a New York sea-captain, who happened to be in London at the time, and who had been

warmly recommended to Bellamont by Robert Livingston, and, to stimulate him further in the pursuit of his prey, one fifth of the proceeds of the expedition was promised him as his share in the enterprise. Kidd had previously commanded a privateer in the West Indies, and had, for some years, been captain of a packet ship, which plied between New York and London. He was a resident of the city of New York, where he owned a house and lot in Liberty street and passed for a worthy and respectable citizen. In 1691, he had married Sarah Oort, the widow of one of his fellow captains and a woman of the highest respectability, by whom he had one daughter. His house was one of the most commodious and best furnished in the city ; he moved among the best circles of society, and nothing in his previous conduct or mode of life indicated the terrible career that followed the fitting out of this fatal expedition.

On taking command of the ship, Kidd immediately repaired to New York, and, shipping ninety additional men, sailed for the Indian seas in quest of pirates. The sequel of his career is already too well known to be repeated in detail. He succumbed to temptation, joined the band which he had been sent to destroy, and became one of the most daring and successful pirates that ever hoisted the black flag on the seas. His career was short, embracing only two years, yet, during that time, he plundered scores of ships, amassed countless treasure, and made his name a terror on the seas and a by-word for future generations. Grown daring by his success, he exchanged his ship for a frigate that he had captured, and, in 1698, returned to New York. But Bellamont was

now governor, and protection was no longer vouchsafed to pirates. Passing up Long Island Sound, he landed at Gardiner's Island and buried a portion of his treasure ; then, dividing his spoils with his crew, he discharged them and repaired to Boston, where he quietly took up his residence under an assumed name. Here he was met by Bellamont, who at once recognized and arrested him. He was sent to England for trial, found guilty of piracy, sentenced to death, and executed on the 12th of May, 1701. His wife and daughter continued to reside in New York after his death in the strictest seclusion. Search was made by the authorities for the buried treasure, and a large box of gold, silver, and jewels was found at the place of deposit on Gardiner's Island. This inflamed the imagination of the gold-hunters ; rumors of immense sums buried on Long Island and the shores of the North River circulated eagerly from mouth to mouth, and every likely and unlikely locality was mined in search of the hidden treasure. The faith has even come down to our own times, and the words "Kidd's treasure," still suggests to some credulous minds visions of untold wealth lying almost at their doors, awaiting the touch of the spade and mattock.

The result of this enterprise caused great excitement and indignation, both in America and in England, and Bellamont, Livingston, and even the king himself, were openly accused of having secretly connived at it and shared in the spoils. A motion was made in the House of Commons that all who had been interested in the adventure should be deprived of their official positions, and this motion being lost by a large majority, the noble-

men were impeached and forced to undergo the form of a trial for their lives ; but the charges against them could not be sustained and all the accused were honorably acquitted.

As we have already said, Fletcher continued to administer the government for more than two years after he had been superseded by Bellamont. During this time, various public improvements were made and municipal ordinances enacted, indicating the growth of the city. Soon after the departure of Kidd from the port of New York in 1696 on his piratical expedition, the erection of Trinity Church as well as that of the new Dutch Church—known to us by tradition as the Old Dutch Church—in Garden street, was commenced. Both were completed in the course of the following year. It was also determined to build a new City Hall, the old “Stadt-Huys” at Coenties Slip having become so dilapidated that the mayor and corporation, finding it impossible to meet there any longer, had been compelled to remove to the house of George Reparreck, next door. A consultation was held as to the most available means for raising the necessary funds, and it was decided to sell the old stadthuys and grounds, and to mortgage the ferry-lease for fifteen years. It was also resolved that the new hall should be completed within a twelvemonth, and a committee was appointed to select a site and make the necessary estimates, but it was not until 1699 that the site at the junction of Wall and Broad streets was actually selected, and the old stadthuys sold at public auction. This was purchased by a merchant named John Rodman, together with the grounds and all the appurtenances, with



The Stuyvesant Mansion (*see page 153*).

the exception of the bell and royal arms, for the sum of nine hundred and twenty pounds sterling, the city reserving the use of it for a jail a month longer. The first building in the city used for a jail was at the corner of Dock street and Coenties Slip. The new City Hall was built in the form of an L, and open in the middle. The dungeons for criminals were in the cellar. The first story had two large staircases, and two large and two small rooms. The middle of the second story was occupied by the court room, with the assembly room on one side, and the magistrates' room on the other. The debtors' cells were in the attic.

In 1696, Maiden Lane was regulated, and Captain Teunis Dekay was permitted to make a cartway through Nassau street—designated in his petition as “the street “that runs by the pie-woman’s, leading to the city commons,”—receiving the soil in compensation for his labor. A cartway was also made along Hanover Square, or “Burger’s Path,” as it was then called. A contract

was made for cleaning the streets at thirty pounds sterling per annum—a work which had hitherto been done by the citizens themselves, every man being required to keep the street clean before his own door.

In 1697, the first attempt at lighting the streets was made. This was done by hanging out a lantern and candle upon the end of a pole from the window of every seventh house, on the nights when there was no moon; the expense being divided equally among the seven houses. The first regular night watch, consisting of four men, was established during the same year.

Two persons in each ward were also appointed by the corporation to inspect every chimney and hearth once a week, the better to secure the city against fire. At this time the city numbered six hundred houses, and about six thousand inhabitants.

Great scarcity of bread prevailed in the city during this year. None was to be had of the bakers, who declared that it was impossible to purchase flour at rates reasonable enough to supply their customers at the prices fixed by law. The matter was taken into public consideration, and a census ordered to be taken of all the wheat, flour and bread then within the city. Seven thousand bushels of wheat were found—not more than a week's provision for the six thousand inhabitants. The scarcity was at once attributed to the repeal of the bolting act, which had enabled the planters to grind their own flour and to hold it back from the general market for private speculation, and an address was directly forwarded to the king, complaining of the famine to which the city was reduced, and earnestly entreating him to restore the

monopoly. Meanwhile an assize of rye bread was established ; a five-pound loaf being valued at four pence-half penny, and the price of rye being fixed at three shillings and threepence per bushel.

On the 2d of April, 1698, Lord Bellamont arrived at New York, accompanied by his wife and his cousin, John Nanfan, who was also his lieutenant-governor, and was received by the citizens with demonstrations of delight. Johannes de Peyster, the brother of Abraham de Peyster, the mayor of 1691, was at this time mayor of the city, having succeeded William Merritt, who had filled the mayoralty for the past three years. The corporation at once gave a public dinner to the governor and tendered him a complimentary address, and the people were not backward in seconding the welcome. Bellamont, who was diametrically opposed to the policy of Fletcher, directly attached himself to the Leislerian party. He had already espoused the same cause in England, and had aided young Leisler in procuring the reversion of his father's attainder. He molded his council to suit his own views. Bayard, Philipse and the rest of their party, resigned or were removed, and a new council was appointed, consisting chiefly of the Leislerian party. A new Assembly was convened on the 18th of May, 1699, in which the same element preponderated. Bellamont's opening speech augured well for the future. He spoke of the disorderly state of the province, left as it was with a divided people, an empty treasury, ruined fortifications and a few half-naked soldiers, and branded with the stigma of being a rendezvous for pirates. "It would be hard,"

said he, "if I, who come before you with an honest heart and a resolution to be just to your interests, should meet with greater difficulties in the discharge of his majesty's service than those who have gone before me. I shall take care that there shall be no more misapplication of the public money; I shall pocket none of it myself, neither shall there be any embezzlement of it by others; but exact accounts shall be given you when and as often as you require."

The members of the Assembly, rejoiced at the pledges of their new governor, passed a warm vote of thanks for this welcome speech, and voted him a revenue for six years. In compliance with his suggestions, they passed several wholesome acts for the suppression of piracy, for the regulation of the elections, and for the indemnification of those who had been excepted from the general pardon of 1691. Under this act, the families of Leisler and Milborne recovered their estates. The time had now come for the exaltation of these martyrs. Their remains were disinterred with great ceremony, and after lying in state for some weeks, were conveyed under guard of a military escort to the Dutch church in Garden street, and buried there. An immense concourse of citizens attended the funeral, which was honored by the presence of the governor himself.

Soon after the arrival of Bellamont, the mayor and corporation waited on him, and entreated his assistance in the recovery of the coveted bolting monopoly. They also raised the sum of fifty pounds sterling for the purpose of dispatching a special agent to the English govern-

ment to represent to them the misery which the repeal of this act had occasioned in the city, and a memorial was addressed to the king, depicting the prevailing famine in glowing colors, and prophesying utter ruin to New York, unless this privilege, which constituted the life of the city, should at once be restored to it. But their prayers and petitions were of no avail ; the act of the Assembly was not repealed ; yet New York continued to thrive without the aid of the bolting monopoly.

In 1699, David Provoost was appointed mayor. Mr. Provoost was the son of one of the ancient Dutch burghers, and a popular man among his fellow-citizens. His administration was marked by several public improvements. Two new market houses were erected, one at Coenties Slip and the other at the foot of Broad street, and King, now William street, was filled up and regulated. Public scavengers were employed to clean the streets, and all persons were directed to pave before their houses under penalty of a fine of twenty shillings. A hospital was established for the poor in a house hired for the purpose—no institution of the kind was built until three-quarters of a century after. The ferry was farmed out for a term of seven years at a rent of a hundred and sixty-five pounds sterling per annum. By the conditions of the lease, the lessee was required to keep two large boats for corn and cattle, and two smaller ones for passengers. The rates of fare were fixed at eight stuyvers in wampum or a silver twopence for single persons, or half that sum for each of a company ; a shilling for a horse, twopence for a hog, a penny for a sheep, etc. The city engaged to build a substantial ferry-house

on Nassau or Long Island, which the ferry-man was required to keep in repair. The dock was also leased to Philip French at an annual rent of forty pounds sterling ; the lessee being required within a year to clean the dock and slip till a sandy bottom should be found, and to keep it, and the wharves about it, clean in the future. A variety of municipal ordinances were passed the same year, the general tendency of which was to restrain all public excesses and to promote the welfare of the city. The firing of guns within the precincts of the city was strictly forbidden. A powder-house was ordered to be built for public use, and all persons were interdicted from keeping more than fifty pounds of powder in their houses at one time. An impost was levied upon all flour and bread brought into the city, for the benefit of the public treasury ; this tax, however, proved unpopular, and was annulled a few weeks after.

In 1700, Isaac de Riemer, a merchant of Holland origin was appointed mayor. He was a descendant of one of the oldest families of the city, and a nephew of the well-known Cornelius Steenwyck, the former mayor.

Bellamont, in the meantime, had gone to Boston, having been appointed governor of Massachusetts as well as of New York, to look after the interests of the Board of Trade, as he had especially been instructed to do. This board, consisting of a president and seven members, had been instituted in 1696, just after the appointment of Bellamont as governor, and the commerce of the colonies placed under its supervision. The acts of trade restricting this commerce had been made still more stringent, and courts of Vice-Admiralty established in all

the colonies, invested with supreme authority in all cases pertaining to the admiralty or revenue. The colonists protested bitterly against this measure, but the English government sustained the courts, and imposed oaths upon the colonial governors to enforce the acts of trade. The people however rebelled against the new authorities, and the revenue laws were constantly violated, especially in New England. Bellamont's address and manners soon made him popular among his Boston subjects, but they strenuously resisted his efforts to enforce the navigation acts, and he returned to New York, having effected nothing. Here, he soon became involved in a new controversy with the New York merchants, who complained of him to the Board of Trade and to Parliament. But before the affair could be investigated, the proceedings were suspended by the sudden death of the governor. He was buried with funeral honors in the chapel of the fort, and a few days afterwards, his coat of arms was carried in great state and placed in front of the City Hall in Wall street, together with that of his successor, John Nanfan. Here they remained until the arrival of Cornbury and the accession of the anti-Leislerian party in 1702, when they were torn down and contemptuously broken in pieces.

The authority now devolved upon Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan until the appointment of a new governor, but, he being absent in Barbadoes, a violent contest took place in respect to the temporary administration of the government. The anti-Leislerians insisted that it belonged of right to Colonel William Smith, the senior member of the council, while the Leislerians, who were in the

majority, declared that a temporary chairman must be elected, as had previously been done after the death of Sloughter. In the midst of the discussion Nanfan arrived, and opportunely assumed the direction of the government.

Nanfan was as warm a Leislerian as Bellamont, though less judicious in his course of policy, and his first Assembly was imbued with the same spirit. In the late contest, the claims of Smith to the chair had been warmly supported by Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingston, the latter of whom had been one of Leisler's bitterest foes, and had been denounced by Milborne in his dying words upon the scaffold. The time had now come for him to pay the penalty. The new Assembly removed him from his office of Secretary of Indian Affairs and Collector of Customs, and demanded his accounts, which he could not furnish, as the Assembly well knew, for they were at this time in the hands of Lady Bellamont. Upon his failure to produce them, he was pronounced a defaulter, and expelled from the council, and his property was confiscated for the public benefit.

Not less was the confusion in the city affairs. At this time, the municipal government was composed of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and six assistants, the mayor having the casting vote. In the fall election of 1701, Thomas Noell, a merchant and an anti-Leislerian, was elected mayor, and Abraham Gouverneur, a Leislerian and the husband of the widow of Milborne, recorder. The Dock Ward returned Philip French and Robert Lurting, both anti-Leislerians, as alderman and assistant.

In the Out Ward, Martin Clock and Abraham Messier, and, in the North Ward, Jacob Boelen and Gerrit Oncleberg, all Leislerians, were elected to the same offices. These returns were not disputed. In the other wards the Leislerians also claimed to have gained the victory, but the contest was so close that they were apprehensive that the new mayor would refuse to receive their oaths, denying their election, and to meet this exigency, they determined to be sworn in by the retiring mayor, De Riemer, who was one of their party, which was accordingly done. Johannes de Peyster, alderman, and Abraham Brasier, assistant, of the East Ward ; David Provoost, alderman, and Peter William Roome, assistant, of the West Ward ; and Nicholas Roosevelt, alderman, and Hendrick Jallisen, assistant, of the South Ward, were the members elect of the disputed districts.

On the 14th of October, Mayor Noell took the oaths of office before the governor at the fort, then proceeded with the Common Council to Trinity Church to listen to the annual sermon, according to the usual custom. This done, he proceeded to the City Hall, and, having proclaimed his commission, proceeded to swear in the the members elect, but all refused to take the oaths except French and Lurting, alleging that they had been sworn in by the retiring mayor. On hearing this, he proceeded to swear in Brandt Schuyler, John Hutchins and William Morris as aldermen, and Johannes Jansen, Robert White, and Jeremiah Tuthill as assistants of the disputed wards. This proceeding caused so great an excitement, that Noell was finally compelled to dismiss

the assembly, without having sworn in the new city officials.

The city remained thus without a government until the 11th of November, when Noell again proceeded to the City Hall to swear in Schuyler, Hutchins, Morris and their assistants. The Leislerian members were already there in their places as members of the common council. Regardless of their protests, the mayor proceeded to swear in their antagonists, when the whole twenty took their seats together, each fully determined to share in the administration of the government. Finding that nothing could be done with so intractable an assembly, Noell ended by dismissing them all for a fortnight, and availed himself of the recess to appeal to the Supreme Court, which settled the matter by giving seats to Schuyler and Hutchins, and their assistants of the anti-Leislerian, and De Peyster and his assistant of the Leislerian party. The board thus stood equally divided, but the balance of power remained in the hands of the anti-Leislerians, the mayor having the casting vote. The affair occasioned the most intense excitement, and was one of the most turbulent elections ever witnessed in the city.

News soon arrived that Lord Cornbury had been appointed as Lord Bellamont's successor, and Bayard, anxious to gain him over to his party, forwarded addresses to him and to parliament, denouncing the Leislerians, and especially Nanfan, whose administration he vilified in the most odious terms. News of this proceeding coming to Nanfan's ears, he arrested and imprisoned Bayard, together with John Hutchins, one of the newly elected aldermen, who had taken an active part in procuring sig-

natures to the obnoxious addresses. The prisoners were tried by a special court, under the very act which Bayard himself had procured to secure the condemnation of Leisler. This act, which was the first passed by Sloughter's assembly, provided "that any person who should endeavor by any manner of way, or upon any pretence, by force of arms or otherwise, to disturb the peace, good and quiet of the province, should be esteemed rebels and traitors, and should incur the pains and penalties which the laws of England had provided for such offence."

As little fairness as had been shown in the trial of Leisler was now accorded to Bayard; who was indicted for rebellion and treason, for inciting the soldiers in the fort to rebellion, and for persuading them to sign libels against the existing government. The majority of the judges were Dutch, and were well known as his declared foes. Atwood, the chief-justice, pressed the charge in the most violent manner, and, despite all the efforts of the prisoner's friends and of the counsel, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. Hutchins was also tried and condemned. Thus far the cases of Bayard and Leisler were parallel; but the former received leniency which had not been accorded to the latter—a reprieve was granted him until the king's pleasure should be known. Suddenly, the arrival of Cornbury changed the aspect of affairs. Bayard was released and promoted to honor, the Leislerian party fell into disgrace, Atwood was forced to flee the country, and the new governor declared himself at the head of the anti-Leislerians.

CHAPTER IX.

1702—1720.

Cornbury in New York—Public Improvements—First Negro Plot in the City—Administration of Robert Hunter.

IN May, 1702, Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, arrived, charged with the administration of the government of New York and the Jerseys. These provinces had been divorced for a considerable time, but, difficulties having arisen between the proprietors of the latter, they had finally ceded their patents to Queen Anne as the easiest method of settling affairs and ridding themselves of a dignity which they had found to be an expensive luxury. Upon this retrocession, the queen placed both provinces under the command of Lord Cornbury, a near kinsman of her own, and they remained thus reunited until 1738, though each preserved a distinct legislative assembly. Cornbury was a reckless adventurer, profligate and unprincipled, who had fled from England to escape the demands of his creditors, and whose sole claim to this important command rested on his kindred to royalty. Eager to acquire wealth from his new subjects, and

wholly regardless of their wishes or interests, he soon completely alienated their affections and became the object of universal detestation. Cornbury had received a long list of instructions from the queen. By these, he was enjoined to rule the two provinces with impartiality, to grant liberty of conscience to all except papists, to consider Quakers eligible for offices of public trust and to receive their affirmations instead of oaths ; yet, while tolerating all religions, to endeavor to make the Church of England the established church of the land ; to keep the churches that were already built in repair, to build more as occasion required, and to furnish each minister with a house and glebe at the common charge ; to punish drunkenness, swearing, and vice of all kinds ; to encourage trade and traders, particularly the Royal African Company of England, and to recommend to the said Company to see that the colony had a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes at moderate rates. He was also instructed to endeavor to get a law passed for restraining inhuman severity to *Christian* servants and slaves, and to make the willful murder of Indians and negroes an offence punishable with death. The spirit of these instructions conveys a fair idea of the state of popular feeling at this time in respect to slaves and slavery. These degraded beings were held in the most abject bondage, and the strictest laws were passed for restraining their liberty. Not more than four were allowed to assemble at a time, nor were they permitted to pass the city gates without the permission of their master. The use of weapons was not permitted them, they were not suffered to own either houses or

land, and their masters were forbidden to set them free under penalty of a heavy fine. As time wore on, their burdens grew still heavier. In 1709, a slave-market was erected on the site of the old block-house at the foot of Wall street slip, where all negroes or Indians who were to be hired were ordered to stand in readiness for bidders. In the following year, a city ordinance was passed, providing that any negro or Indian slave who should presume to appear in the streets after nightfall without a lantern with a lighted candle in it should be committed to jail, to remain there until released by the payment of a fine of eight shillings by his master, and as an equivalent, the authorities pledged themselves that the culprit should receive thirty-nine lashes at the public whipping-post, should his master desire. But the negroes did not submit tamely to these despotic regulations. From time to time, an outbreak warned the whites of the strength of the power which they were endeavoring to repress, and of the deadly peril which was brooding among them. Such an instance occurred in 1707 at Newtown, on Long Island, where a Mr. Hallet, with his wife and five children, was murdered one night in cold blood by two of his slaves. The murderers were seized, tried, condemned, and executed with the most horrible tortures. They confessed the crime, saying that they had committed it in revenge, because they had been forbidden to go out on Sunday. The punishments inflicted for this and similar deeds were terrible. The wretched criminals were chained to the stake and burned alive, broken on the wheel, or suspended to the branches of

trees and left there to perish. A negro suspected of a crime was tried at once under a special act of the Assembly by a court composed of three justices and five freeholders, and invested with authority to try, convict and sentence to immediate execution. An old newspaper now before us, of the date of January 28, 1733, records the case of a negro who was seized on Monday, tried on Tuesday, and burned on Thursday in the presence of a crowd of witnesses. Truly, we seem to be not very far off from the barbaric ages!

Upon his arrival, the new governor immediately attached himself to the anti-Leislerians, and openly avowed himself at the head of the party. Through his efforts, the first Assembly that met after his coming was composed chiefly of the same faction. Anxious to win a continuance of his favor, they voted him a revenue for seven years, increased his salary from six to twelve hundred pounds, and presented him with two thousand pounds to defray the expenses of his voyage. Nor were Mayor Noell and the corporation less profuse in their demonstrations of affection and fidelity. A public dinner was given in honor of his arrival; he was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and a congratulatory address was tendered him by the civic authorities. In honor of the opening administration, the members of his suite were also made freemen, together with the soldiers of the garrison, and all citizens who were too poor to purchase their freedom. At this time, the freedom of the city was not an empty name—it conveyed the right to trade, to vote and to be voted for, and to share in all other municipal privileges, and was

indeed more pregnant with meaning than is the present act of naturalization. A census of the inhabitants was ordered to be made, and the population was found to amount to 5,250.

Hitherto, there had been no free grammar school in New York. Various private schools had been set up from time to time under the supervision and with the permission of the government, and Ægidius Luyck had founded a flourishing classical school in the days of Stuyvesant, which had grown into a flourishing institution and attracted many pupils from the distant settlements. But, owing to the frequent changes in the government and the internal disorder of the city, this had been broken up ; and though various individuals had essayed from time to time to play the pedagogue, their efforts had met with moderate success, and at this time education was at a very low ebb in the city. At length the corporation took the matter in hand, and, at a meeting held soon after Cornbury's arrival, resolved that there ought to be and must be a free grammar school in the city, and that, as there was no teacher to be had in New York who was capable of taking charge of one, steps should immediately be taken to procure one from England. A petition was accordingly addressed to the Bishop of London, entreating him to send them a native-born English teacher, of good learning, pious life and conversation, and a mild and even temper ; and Lord Cornbury was urged to back this petition by his influence, and to recommend it to the notice of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ; and likewise to appropriate to it part of the

proceeds of the King's Farm. This petition was repeatedly urged by the citizens upon the notice of the governor, but it was not until 1705 that the school was finally established, and Andrew Clarke appointed master.

Soon after the arrival of Lord Cornbury, a disease, strongly resembling the yellow fever, was imported from St. Thomas into the city. The infection spread rapidly, nearly every one attacked with it died in a few hours, and the epidemic was long remembered as "the great sickness of New York." The frightened inhabitants fled in terror from the infected city to the Jersey and Long Island shores. Lord Cornbury, with his council, also fled from the pestilence, and took up his quarters at Jamaica on Long Island. This village was under the control of the Presbyterians, who, a short time before, had erected a pretty little church, and had purchased a house and glebe for the use of their minister. This parsonage was decidedly the best house in the town, and, on hearing of the coming of the governor, Mr. Hubbard, the minister, removed with his family to a neighboring cottage, and courteously tendered it for his excellency's accommodation. The hospitality was accepted, and requited in a somewhat peculiar manner. Like Fletcher, Cornbury had for his aim the establishment of the Episcopal church in the province. The handful of Episcopalians in Jamaica had long looked with an envious eye on the prosperity of their Presbyterian neighbors; now, sure of receiving the protection of Cornbury, they determined on reaping the fruits of their labors. The church had been erected by a vote of the town, and no provision had been made for securing it

to the use of any particular denomination. Knowing this, and arming themselves with the acts of Fletcher's Assembly, the Episcopalians entered the church one Sunday between the hours of morning and afternoon service, and took possession of the building. A scene of violence ensued, both parties disputed possession of the church, the pews were torn out in the contest, and the struggle was only ended by the interference of the governor, who sustained the claims of Episcopal party. A long and tedious litigation followed, but the Episcopalians retained possession until 1728, though but two of the denomination had contributed a dollar towards the building of the edifice. Nor was this all ; the sheriff seized upon the glebe, and leased it for the benefit of the Episcopal party ; and as a crowning act of perfidy, Cornbury, on his return to New York, instead of restoring the parsonage to his hospitable host, basely surrendered it into the hands of the Episcopal clergyman, who occupied it henceforth as his place of residence.

It must certainly be admitted that, in encouraging the establishment of the Episcopal religion, Cornbury carried out his instructions to the very letter, and it was unfortunate for the popularity of the church that its earliest patrons in the province should have consisted of men of his stamp. In 1703, he induced the city authorities to donate a cemetery to Trinity Church, now the established church of the city. In the same year, the King's Farm, which had originally been the property of the Dutch West India Company, and which had been increased in 1671 by the purchase of a large tract of land from the heirs of Aneke Jans,

was presented by Queen Anne to Trinity Church. Thus was laid the foundation of the immense revenues which the church still continues to enjoy, and which place it in wealth as well as in antiquity, at the head of the Episcopal church in America. The schools were also placed under the control of the same denomination, and an ordinance was enacted, forbidding any person to teach school in the province who had not first received a license from the Bishop of London.

About this time, war was proclaimed by England against France and Spain, and the Assembly that met in 1703, deeming it expedient to increase the fortifications, voted an appropriation of fifteen hundred pounds for the erection of two batteries at the Narrows, adding that it should be used for no other purpose whatever. This sum was raised by a poll-tax, the conditions of which were curious enough to be worth recording. Every member of the council was required to pay forty shillings ; an assembly man, twenty shillings ; a lawyer in practice, twenty shillings ; every man wearing a periwig, five shillings and sixpence ; a bachelor of twenty-five years and upwards, two shillings and three-pence ; every freeman between the ages of sixteen and sixty, ninepence ; and the owners of slaves one shilling for each. The required sum was raised in this manner ; but, regardless of the conditions on which it was given, the governor drew it from the treasury and applied it to his own use, refusing to account to the Assembly for its expenditure. Exasperated at such a gross violation of trust, the Assembly at once demanded a treasurer, and refused to make any further appropriations until one

should be appointed, declaring that they were Englishmen, and had a right to control the expenditure of their own money. "I know of no right that you have, except such as the queen is pleased to allow you," was the curt reply of the governor, as he angrily dissolved the Assembly.

The new Assembly that was convened in 1705 was not much more pliable. Money was needed, for the war was still carried on, and the city was almost defenceless. A French privateer had already entered the harbor and terrified the inhabitants, and they had no security against other and more dangerous visitants; but they remembered that they had already paid for two batteries at the Narrows, the first stone of which was not yet laid, and they were loth to make another such investment of their money. Seeing the real need of fortifications, however, they at length voted three thousand pounds to be applied to their erection and to the maintenance of a company of scouts on the frontiers, but only on condition that it should be disbursed by a person of their own choosing. To this, Cornbury reluctantly consented as the only means of raising the money, then immediately prorogued the Assembly. In 1706, it was again convened, but, being more refractory than ever, was speedily dissolved by the governor.

The municipal authorities, awake to the danger of the city, joined in the demand for fortifications, and, on the appropriation of the money, summoned all the citizens to aid in the work of strengthening the town. The residents of the six city wards were ordered to work in turn upon the fortifications, either in person or by sub-

stitute, whenever summoned by the mayor. The town-crier went through the streets of each ward in turn, and, calling the inhabitants by the sound of a drum, proclaimed the time and place of rendezvous for the next morning's labor. The citizens repaired to the fortifications, armed with picks and shovels, and strengthened the palisades, repaired the half-ruined artillery-mounts, mounted the guns, and placed the city in a defensive posture. From two to four hundred men were employed daily upon the works; and the inhabitants were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to appear in arms at the first alarm to repel the French fleet that was hourly expected. But their fears were groundless—no attack was made on the city.

Meanwhile, the governor had spared nothing which might render him odious in the eyes of his people. Not content with his previous infringement of their civil and religious rights, he pushed his despotism so far as to forbid the Dutch congregation to open their church or to listen to their preacher. He imprisoned two Presbyterian ministers for preaching without his license, and practised the most shameless fraud and speculation in the discharge of his official duties. Not content with this, to render himself still more contemptible, he plunged into debaucheries and extravagances of every sort, parading the fort in the dress of a woman, and carousing and revelling in the most shameless manner. He was deeply involved in debt; but, protected as he was by the insignia of his office, none of his creditors dared to molest him. Wearied at length beyond endurance with this detestable tyranny, the citizens of New York

and New Jersey joined in a petition to the queen for his removal. It was but the repetition of the numerous complaints which had long been sounding from across the water ; and Anne, finding it impossible longer to turn a deaf ear to the prayers of the colonists, reluctantly yielded, and revoked her kinsman's commission. Hardly had she done this when his hungry creditors seized upon their prey, and threw him into the debtor's prison in the upper story of the new City Hall in Wall street, where he remained until the death of his father, the Earl of Clarendon, raised him from his cell to the peerage of Great Britain.

Having thus followed the profligate nobleman through his brief but dissolute career, let us take a retrospective view of the prominent events in municipal affairs during the time of his administration. It is not our purpose to record dry documents, or to catalogue city ordinances which would fill folios with but little interest to the general reader ; yet we wish to note the milestones in the progress of the city which may serve to indicate its steady and rapid growth.

We have already noted the large donations of municipal privileges by which the corporation ushered in the administration of Cornbury. At the same time, the rates for purchasing the freedom of the city were changed to twenty shillings for a merchant or trader, and six shillings for a mechanic. New ordinances were passed in respect to cleaning the streets—a matter in which the primitive New Yorkers seem to have experienced a foretaste of the trouble endured by their descendants. The previous ordinances having failed of effect, it was enacted in 1702

that all the inhabitants should sweep the dirt in heaps in front of their doors on Friday morning, and have it conveyed away and thrown into the river or elsewhere before Saturday night under penalty of six shillings. This, the cartmen were required to carry away at the rate of three cents per load, or six, if they loaded their carts themselves; and were subjected to heavy fines in case of a refusal. A pound was instituted for the keeping of stray cattle, and a pound-master appointed, who was to retain one-half of the fees as his due, and to pay the remaining half into the city treasury. The fees were fixed at ninepence for a horse, fourpence-halfpenny for neat cattle, and threepence for sheep and swine. It was also made lawful for any person to kill swine found running at large south of the fresh water. In 1706, a widow by the name of Rebecca Van Schaick received the appointment of city pound-keeper.

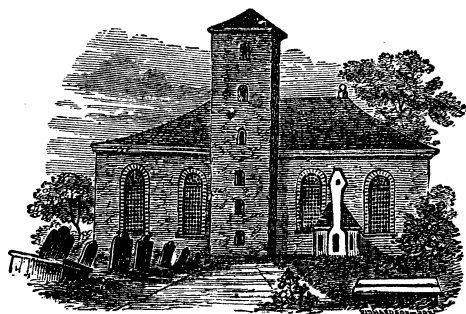
In the autumn succeeding Lord Cornbury's arrival, Philip French, a merchant, and one of the leaders of the anti-Leislerian party, was appointed to the mayoralty. Mr. French was the son-in-law of Frederick Philipse, the richest man in the province and one of Leisler's bitterest foes, and he warmly seconded the quarrel of his father. He had been among the most active in circulating the addresses which, during the administration of Nanfan, had so nearly cost Nicholas Bayard his life, and had been forced to flee to preserve his own liberty. On the arrival of Cornbury, the scale turned, and, from an outlaw, he came suddenly to the head of the municipal government. Before his term of office expired, he was forced to make a journey to Europe on business, and

resigned the charge of affairs into the hands of Sampson Broughton, the city recorder.

In 1703, William Peartree, a West India merchant and trader, was chosen mayor, and continued in the office for the ensuing four years. He was active and efficient, somewhat fond of military life, and a fitting magistrate to superintend the fortifications rendered necessary by the exigencies of war during his administration. He had a house and grounds on Beaver street, between New street and Broadway, where he resided for a long time, and died in 1713, leaving one daughter, who married William Smith, a New York merchant.

During the first year of his administration, the French Protestant church Du Saint-Esprit was built in Pine street by the Waldenses and Huguenots, many of whom had settled in New York and its vicinity. The Rev. James Laborie was the first pastor, and the church soon numbered a flourishing congregation. The Waldenses had a settlement at Staten Island; a large number had also settled in Brooklyn. The Huguenots had founded a settlement at New Rochelle in 1689 on lands purchased for them by Jacob Leisler; and, on Saturday night, after finishing their week's work, the zealous exiles would walk down to their church at Manhattan, and, spending the night with their brethren of New York, walk back to their distant settlement the next night after service, singing their hymns by the way, to be in time to commence their tasks on Monday morning. This church is one of the monuments of olden times which, resisting age, and the more destructive fire which has swept away so many of our landmarks, has come down

to our own times to speak to us of a distant past. The descendants of its people now congregate in Franklin street, where service is still performed in the language of the Huguenots.



French Church in Pine street, erected in 1704.

During the same year, a catechising school for negroes was opened by the Rev. William Vesey, the rector of Trinity Church—the first attempt made in the city towards providing any kind of instruction for this degraded people. It was from this clergyman that Vesey street derived its name. He remained in the city for several years, then returned to England to become the commissary of the Bishop of London. Church, Chapel and Rector streets also owe their names to the same clerical origin.

About the same time, Beekman's Swamp, the abode of the tanners of olden times and of the leather-dealers of to-day, was leased to Rip Van Dam, a member of the council, for twenty-one years at a yearly rent of twenty shillings. Of this swamp, more anon. Not many public improvements were made during Cornbury's administration ; he cared but little for the growth of the city, and

the occurrence of the war diverted the thoughts of the citizens from works of this kind to those of public defence.

In the autumn of 1705, a riot occurred which occasioned considerable excitement. Three English privateers brought a Spanish man-of-war of twenty guns as a prize into the harbor of New York. She had only been captured after a desperate conflict, and was heavily laden with a rich cargo. Elated by their victory, the privateersmen were roaming through the streets of the city, when they came by some accident into collision with the sheriff, with whom they had a violent quarrel. Exasperated by some words which incautiously escaped him, they surrounded his house and assaulted and beat back those who came to his rescue ; then, encouraged by this success, and incensed by a rumor that the soldiers of the garrison had been called out to suppress them, they next attacked two army officers, and wounding one severely, stabbed Lieutenant Featherstonehaugh, the other, through the heart. The murder excited general alarm ; the drum was beat to arms, and a detachment of soldiers, backed by a party of marines from the ships of war in the harbor, quickly charged upon the mutinous privateersmen, and, killing one and wounding several others, forced the whole party to surrender. Erasmus Wilkins, the murderer of the officer, was arrested, tried, convicted and executed.

In 1707, Ebenezer Wilson, a prominent merchant and politician of the city, was appointed mayor. During his administration, Water street was extended from Old Slip to John street. Broadway was also paved from Trinity church to the Bowling Green, and the residents permitted to plant trees before their houses. These pavements

were of cobble stones, the gutter curb being of wood. The gutters ran through the middle of the streets. Brick was universally used for sidewalks—flag-stones being as yet unknown to the city authorities. The posts for tying horses were also ordered to be removed from the streets. New and more stringent regulations were passed in respect to fires, the fire-wardens were directed to keep strict watch of all hearths and chimneys within the city and to see that the fire-buckets were hung up in their right places throughout the wards, and two hooks and eight ladders were purchased at the public expense for the use of the embryo fire-department.

The ferry lease, granted in 1699, having now expired, the ferry was leased again on similar conditions to James Harding, at a yearly rent of one hundred and eighty pounds sterling. The rates of ferriage remained the same. The lessee was required to keep a house of entertainment at the new brick ferry-house which had been built by the corporation on Long Island, and to keep the premises, consisting of a house, barn, well, and landing-bridge, in good repair. He was also required to keep a pound for cattle, and to keep two scows and two small boats constantly plying between the shores. These boats were to receive and discharge passengers and freight on Mondays and Thursdays at Countesses' Key,* or the foot of Maiden Lane; on Tuesdays and Fridays, at Burger's Path,† or Hanover Square; and on Wednesdays and

* So called from the Countess of Bellamont.

† This appellation originated in this wise. The land in the vicinity of Hanover Square and William street having been originally owned by Borger Joris, one of the early Dutch settlers, the latter street became known as Borger's, afterwards corrupted to Burger's Path.

Thursdays at the dock at Coenties Slip. The landing-place on the Long Island shore was a little below that of the present Fulton ferry.

Mayor Wilson retained his office for three years. Before the first had expired, news reached the city of the recall of Lord Cornbury. His future career we have already indicated. On the 18th of December, 1708, John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, who had been appointed the spring before as Cornbury's successor, arrived at New York, and was joyfully welcomed by the citizens. In April, 1709, he convened his first Assembly, of whom he demanded the grant of a permanent revenue and the payment of the governmental debts, together with a full examination of the public accounts, "that it might be known to all the world that the public debt was not contracted in his time." This last request was hailed by the colonists as a good omen of the just intentions of their new governor. But past experience had taught them the importance of retaining the control of the revenue in their own hands, as the only means whereby they could secure a real power in the government, and they were little disposed to grant the first demand of Lovelace. They offered to raise twenty-five hundred pounds for the expenses of the ensuing year, sixteen hundred of which were to be appropriated to the governor's salary, and the remaining nine hundred to the maintenance of the forts at New York, Albany, and Schenectady, together with the payment of printing bills and other contingent expenses. The conduct of Cornbury and his predecessors had taught them a useful lesson, and they were firmly resolved henceforth to grant

none but annual appropriations, and thus to make the salary of the governor dependent upon his good conduct from year to year. How well Lovelace would have relished this independent proceeding can never be known, for he died on the 5th of May, 1709, the same day on which the act was passed, leaving the government in the hands of the lieutenant-governor, Major Richard Ingoldsby, our old acquaintance in the affair of Leisler. He administered the government for eleven months, when the complaints of his subjects concerning his mismanagement of a hostile expedition which had been dispatched against Canada, caused his removal. Gerardus Beekman, the president of the council, assumed the direction of affairs during the short period that intervened before the arrival of the newly-appointed governor.

Robert Hunter arrived in the early part of the summer of 1710, and immediately assumed the direction of the government. He was a fair sample of the freaks of fortune. Born of humble Scotch parentage, he was apprenticed while yet a boy to the service of an apothecary. The embryo governor soon tired of the mortar and pestle, and it was not long before he ran away, and enlisted in the army as a common soldier. He was handsome, talented and ambitious, and possessed of an education far above his station; these qualities attracted the notice of his superiors, and procured him a speedy promotion. He soon became a favorite of the officers, preferment followed preferment in rapid succession, and ere many years had passed, the humble apothecary-boy had risen to the rank of a brigadier in the English army. His fine talents and graceful man-

ners won him the friendship of many of the distinguished literary men of the day, Addison and Swift among the rest, and the hand of an English heiress, Lady Hay, through whose influence he obtained the commission of lieutenant-governor of Virginia. While on his way to his new command, in 1707, he was captured by a French privateer and carried back a prisoner to Europe. But fortune, which seemed harsh to him in this single instance, was only reserving him for a higher destiny. After a short imprisonment, he was exchanged, and invested with the government of the provinces of New York and New Jersey. In education, mind and manners, he was superior to most of his predecessors; but he had received strict instructions to guard the claims of the crown against the demands of the people, and to repress the spirit of independence which had manifested itself so strongly of late in their legislative bodies.

With the new governor came three thousand Germans, natives of the Palatinate, who, driven from their homes by the inhuman commands of Louis XIV. at the instigation of Louvois, had besought the English government to give them homes in the New World. Ten thousand pounds sterling were appropriated by parliament to defray the expenses of the unfortunate exiles, who, in return, indentured themselves for a term of years to manufacture tar for the naval stores of Great Britain. This was the commencement of German immigration. A considerable number of the new-comers remained in New York, where they built the Lutheran church in Broadway on the site of the future Grace church soon after their arrival; some ascended the Hudson River

to Livingston's Manor, and commenced the cultivation of the tract of land now known as the German Flats, and by far the greater part migrated to Pennsylvania and laid the foundation of the German population which now forms so large an element in that State.

On his arrival, Hunter directly attached himself to the anti-Leislerian party, which, at this time as formerly, for the most part comprised the aristocracy of the city. His first council was composed of Gerardus Beekman, whom we have already mentioned as administering the government after the dismissal of Ingoldsby; Rip Van Dam, a Holland merchant and one of the wealthiest men of the city; Killian Van Rensselaer, of the family of the well-known patroon of Rensselaerswick; Judge Montpesson, an eminent lawyer, John Barbarie, one of the early Huguenot settlers, and Frederick Philipse, already known to us from his action in the revolution of Leisler in 1789.

Immediately on his arrival in New York, Hunter secured the support of Lewis Morris, one of the most influential land-owners in New York and New Jersey. He was the son of Richard Morris, an officer in Cromwell's army, who had emigrated to America soon after the retrocession of the province to the English, and purchased a manor ten miles square in the neighborhood of Harlem, to which he gave the name of Morrisania. Dying soon after, he left his only son to the care of his brother Lewis, who took up his residence on the estate in question, and at his death, made his nephew his sole heir. Lewis Morris* was an adherent of the Leislerian

* Richard Morris emigrated about 1670.

party, and he and his descendants long continued to exert a powerful influence on the affairs of the province.

The first act of Governor Hunter's administration was to join with the New England States in a project for the conquest of Canada. This had always been a favorite scheme of the English ; and the citizens of New York were especially interested in its success. Acadia had just been conquered by Francis Nicholson, the governor of Virginia, and its inhabitants expelled without striking a blow ; and the door seemed thus opened to an easy victory. The Assembly, on being convened, heartily sanctioned the proposed expedition, and appropriated ten thousand pounds towards defraying the expense. To raise the money, bills of credit were issued, and paper money was thus first introduced into New York. A large body of troops, raised from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, assembled at Albany under the command of Nicholson, where they were joined by a reinforcement of eight hundred Iroquois. These were to march to attack Montreal, while the fleet and army which had been sent from England should at the same time assail Quebec. The city was in a state of intense excitement. The people were deeply interested in the enterprise, they saw themselves in fancy already masters of Canada, and eagerly awaited the news of the victory. They were doomed to disappointment.

Nothing but judicious management had been spared to secure the success of the expedition. A fleet of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, well manned and provided with all the necessary munitions, had been dispatched from England with instructions to touch at Bos-

ton for the Massachusetts reinforcements, then to sail at once to attack Quebec. But a month was wasted in Boston harbor in embarking the colonial troops and providing supplies, which, after all, were totally inadequate to the wants of the expedition. After this long delay, the ships set sail for the St. Lawrence ; but hardly had they arrived in the mouth of the river when the fleet became enveloped in a dense fog. The American pilots advised that the ships should lie to with their heads to the south, but the admiral obstinately refused to permit this, and commanded them to keep on their course to the northward. It was not long before they found themselves lost among the rocks and islands of the northern shore. The men-of-war escaped from the tortuous channels, but eight transports were driven on the rocky shoals, and went down, burying eight hundred and sixty men beneath the waters. Dismayed at the fruits of his own obstinacy, the admiral hastily put about and returned to Spanish River Bay, where he held a council of war, and, finding that they had but ten weeks' provisions, determined at once to abandon the expedition. On hearing of the misfortunes of the fleet, the land force returned disconsolate to the city, and the vision of the conquest of Canada, on which the colonists had expended so much hope and treasure, vanished in thin air from before their expectant eyes.

The ill success of this expedition cast a deep gloom over the city, and did not dispose the people to second the governor's plans for their future course of action. He had warmly urged the Assembly that had convened in the spring of 1711 to grant a permanent revenue for the

support of the government, pleading that such were the instructions of the queen, but this they persistently refused to do, and granted appropriations for a single year instead. The point was warmly contested by the governor and council, but neither party could be persuaded to yield.

The session of 1712 was equally stormy in its character. The Assembly repaired the fortifications and kept up the military force in compliance with the exigencies of the war, but steadily refused to grant anything more than an annual appropriation for the support of government. The state of affairs was gloomy enough. The Iroquois, who had hitherto been their fast friends, were growing distrustful; rumors were afloat of a projected attack by sea, and the recent failure of the Canadian expedition had weakened the faith of the people in their own resources. At this juncture, a new source of trouble arose. Ever since the introduction of slavery by the Dutch West India Company, the traffic in negroes had gone on continually increasing, till in numbers they began to rival the whites. In the midst of the general panic, the attention of the citizens was suddenly arrested by some mysterious movements on the part of the slaves. The danger to which they were hourly exposed from this host of oppressed and hitherto despised people, which had silently been growing up in their midst, now flashed upon them. Rumors circulated of an intended negro insurrection, some real or imaginary evidences of a concerted plot were discovered, and the whole city was seized with alarm. How much the real danger was magnified by the fears of the inhabitants can never be

known ; certain it is that a riot occurred in which a house was burned and several white men were killed. A general arrest of negroes followed. Nineteen of the unfortunate wretches were tried and executed for their supposed complicity in the plot, and there the matter rested, to be revived again a few years after in a still more terrible aspect.

In the following year, the peace of Utrecht terminated the war, and brought peace and rest to the harassed colonists. By this treaty, France ceded the territory of Hudson Bay, together with Newfoundland and Acadia, to England ; but, as the boundaries of these were not defined they became the source of fruitful dissensions, and were made the pretext for a continual frontier warfare as long as the Canadas remained in the hands of the French.

Meanwhile, the contest between the governor and the Assembly in respect to a permanent revenue had increased in bitterness. It was the fixed policy of the English government to weaken the power of the people and to strengthen that of the crown, and Hunter, though far more liberal and judicious than most of his predecessors, left no means untried to establish this end. What they had failed to accomplish by force, he effected by persuasion, and, having succeeded by the aid of his friend, Lewis Morris, in convening an Assembly favorable to his interests in 1715, he prevailed on them to grant a revenue for three years, and thus to render the officials for that time independent of the people. Previously to this, he had established a Court of Chancery, assuming the office of Chancellor himself, and appointing as regis-

ters, Frederick Philipse and Rip Van Dam, both members of his council. The Assembly protested loudly against this innovation, and the affair was referred to the Lords of Trade, who, ever obsequious to the interests of the crown, sustained the action of the governor, and decided that her majesty had an undoubted right to establish as many courts as she thought proper in her own dominions. Gratified at this victory, the governor made several important concessions to the people. He permitted the naturalization of the Dutch inhabitants, imposed taxes on British imports for the benefit of the province, and levied tonnage duties on foreign vessels. Lewis Morris was made chief justice in reward for his services, continuing, meanwhile, to retain his seat in the Assembly. In the following year, the city witnessed the arrival of two new-comers, destined to enact an important part in her future history. These were James Alexander, the father of Lord Stirling of Revolutionary memory, and William Smith, the father of the future chief-justice and historian of New York; both eminent lawyers, who soon carved their way to positions of honor and profit in their adopted city.

Despite Hunter's rigid observance of the instructions of his royal mistress, he was popular among his subjects, and seemingly disposed to further their interests when they did not conflict with those of the English government. But his administration was drawing to a close. His health soon after failed him, and he was ordered by his physicians to seek a warmer climate. Surrendering the government into the hands of Peter Schuyler, the eldest member of the council, the office of lieutenant-

governor being at that time vacant, he set sail for Europe on the 31st of July, 1719, bearing with him the sincere regards of his subjects. He afterwards sought and obtained the government of Jamaica.

Having thus followed Governor Hunter through his general career, in which the histories of the city and the province are too closely interwoven to be wholly divorced, let us take a retrospective view of municipal affairs during the seventeen years of his administration. He arrived at New York in the closing months of the term of office of Mayor Wilson. In 1710, Jacobus Van Cortlandt, son of the well known Oloffe Stevensen Van Cortlandt, and brother of the ex-mayor Stephanus Van Cortlandt, was appointed to the mayoralty. Mr. Van Cortlandt was a wealthy merchant, and a prominent member of the anti-Leislerian party, having already represented the city in Sloughter's Assembly of 1701; and was allied to several of the leading families of the city. In the year of his election to the Assembly, he married the daughter of the wealthy Frederick Philipse, with whom he received a large estate on the shores of the Hudson in the vicinity of Yonkers. This estate fell, at his death, into the hands of his son Frederick, who had married the daughter of Augustus Jay, the Huguenot ancestor of the celebrated John Jay of Revolutionary memory.*

About the same time, a new market was established

* Mr. Van Cortlandt died in 1739, leaving four children: Frederick, whom we have already mentioned; Margaret, who married Abraham de Peyster, son of the ex-mayor; Ann, who married John Chambers; and Mary, who married Peter Jay.



Augustus Jay,

Born at La Rochelle, 1665; died at New York, 1751.

From the Portrait belonging to the Jay Family, at Bedford, Westchester County, N.Y.

at the upper end of Broad street, between the City Hall and Exchange Place, and permission was given to the residents of the vicinity to erect stalls and sheds to suit their convenience under the direction of the clerk of the market. Country people were also permitted to sell meat at wholesale or retail as they pleased, subject to the same supervision; and bakers were required to brand their loaves with their initials, under penalty of forfeiture of the bread, and to conform strictly to the legal assize.

The laws relating to indentured apprentices were also amended. The term of apprenticeship was extended from four to seven years, at the expiration of which time, the master was bound to purchase for his apprentice the freedom of the city.

The winter of 1711 seems to mark the first appearance of rowdyism in New York. A gang of men and boys fell into the habit of amusing themselves by taking midnight rambles, and throwing stones on their way at the windows of the houses; and so annoying did this practice become, that the city authorities were finally obliged to offer a reward for the apprehension of the offenders. The evil was finally checked, and we find no repetition of it for several years to come.

In the spring of the same year, it was resolved that a meeting of the Common Council should be held at the City Hall at 9 A.M. on the first Friday in every month, and the treasurer was ordered to purchase eighteen rush-bottom chairs, and an oval table, for their accommodation. The municipal ordinances of the preceding year were rehearsed by their titles, and ordered to be

continued. The market-house at Wall street slip was already used as a public market-place for slaves—the first that had ever been instituted in the city. A record, dated the 1st of June of the same year, continues the widow of Andreas Donn, deceased, in the office of scavenger of Broad street for one year at a salary of eleven pounds sterling—a curious proof of the estimate of the sphere of woman by the city fathers of the olden time.

In 1711, Caleb Heathcote, who had long mingled actively in the politics of the province as one of the leaders of the anti-Leislerian party, and had served as a member of the council of Fletcher in 1692, and again of Cornbury in 1702, was elected mayor. Mr. Heathcote was a merchant, son of the mayor of Chester in England, who, having been supplanted by his brother in the affections of his betrothed, had come to America to forget his disappointment in the excitement of new scenes. He took up his residence in the family of his uncle, George Heathcote, one of the wealthiest merchants of the city, who had emigrated from England in 1674, and soon became absorbed in the politics of the province. His brother, meanwhile, won a fortune in the mother-country, and became Sir Gilbert Heathcote, the founder and first president of the Bank of England, and Lord Mayor of London. Caleb learned to forget his perfidious love, and espoused Margaret Smith of Long Island, daughter of the ex-governor of Tangiers, familiarly styled “Tangier Smith” by his neighbors, the better to distinguish him from his scores of namesakes. He retained the mayoralty for three years, after which he retired to his estate at Mamaroneck and built



Portrait of Caleb Heathcote.

there the well-known Heathcote Hall, where he died in 1721, leaving two sons and four daughters to inherit his vast estates.

Little worthy of note in respect to municipal affairs occurred during his administration. In 1712, Broadway was levelled between Maiden Lane and the present Park, and speculators began to look forward to the time when these up-town lots would be of value. During the same year, the negro plot which we have already mentioned broke out, but was quickly suppressed by the citizens.

The number of the city watch was soon after increased

from four to six. The paupers were now beginning to be both numerous and troublesome, and it was proposed, instead of maintaining them by weekly pittances as had hitherto been done, to provide a house where they could be cared for at the public expense and be made to contribute somewhat towards their livelihood. This scheme, however, was not carried into effect until 1734, when a commodious house was erected on the commons, in the rear of the present City Hall, and well supplied with spinning-wheels, shoemakers' tools, and other implements of labor, to make it in some sort a self-sustaining institution. During the same year (1714) an application was made to the colonial government for permission to raise a yearly tax of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the city treasury ; but the request was refused. A census taken at this time showed the city to contain five thousand four hundred and eighty inhabitants.

In 1716, John Johnston, a shipping merchant of the city was appointed mayor. Mr. Johnston was an active politician and a member of the governor's council during the last year of his mayoralty. He retained the office for five years. But few changes took place in the city during his administration. In the first year of his rule, the City Hall was graced by the first public clock ever put up in the city. This was a gift from Stephen De Lancey,* who, having been paid fifty pounds for his services as representative in the Assembly, invested the sum in a clock, which he presented to the Corporation for the use of the city.

* Originally from Caen in Normandy.

In 1717, the Long Island ferry was leased for a term of five years commencing from the 5th of March, 1718, the landing-places remaining the same. A new ferry was also established, the landing-places on the New York shore being at Hanover Square, and at the Great Dock, near Broad street. This dock extended along Pearl street from Whitehall to Coenties Slip. The Broad street sewer flowed through it and emptied into the river.

In 1718, Gilbert Livingston, Thomas Grant, Patrick Mac Knight and John Nicolls purchased a piece of ground in Wall street, near the City Hall, for the site of a church in behalf of the Presbyterians of the city; and asked permission of the Corporation to hold religious service in the hall until their church should be finished. The request was granted, on condition that they should in no wise interfere with the courts. The structure was erected the following year, and was the first Presbyterian church ever built in New York.

In 1718, the first ropewalk was built along Broadway, between Barclay street and Park Place. These institutions afterwards became popular in New York and its vicinity, and formed the basis of a flourishing trade. About the same time, another boon was conferred upon this country by the introduction of the potato into America by a colony of Irish emigrants who had settled at Londonderry, in Maine. The culture was rapidly extended, and it was not long before the valuable esculent became naturalized among the farmers of Manhattan, and ranked among the choicest products of their soil.

During the thirteen months that intervened between

the departure of Hunter and the arrival of the new governor, the government of the province was administered by Peter Schuyler with great good sense and judgment. Schuyler was a veteran in public affairs ; he was popular among the Indians, to whom he had ever been a faithful friend, and his influence over them, joined with his counsels to the royal governors, had many times saved the infant settlements from destruction ; and he now showed himself as well fitted to rule as he had been to counsel. He cemented the league anew between the English and the Iroquois, which had well-nigh been broken during the late warfare, and exerted himself to the utmost to promote the peace and prosperity of the province.

In 1719, Jacobus Van Cortlandt was again appointed mayor. He held the office for but one year—long enough, however, to witness the installation of the new governor. On the 17th of September, 1720, William Burnet, the newly-appointed governor of New York and New Jersey, arrived at New York. Peter Schuyler immediately resigned the direction of affairs, a new council was chosen, and Governor Burnet assumed the charge of the welfare of the province and city.

CHAPTER X.

1720—1732.

**Affairs of the City under William Burnet—Suppression of the Circuitous Traffic—The
Montgomery Charter—New York in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.**

WILLIAM BURNET, the new governor, was the son of the celebrated Bishop Burnet and had served in England as comptroller of the customs previously to receiving this new appointment. He was a man of fine talents, polished manners, and comprehensive intellect, less avaricious than colonial governors were wont to be, and frank and outspoken almost to excess. Soon after his arrival, he married Miss Van Horne, the daughter of a leading merchant of the city, and thus identified his interests with those of his subjects. By the advice of Hunter, he forbore to dissolve the pliant Assembly which had been convened through the efforts of Morris, and the same body continued in existence for a period of eleven years. As a proof of their appreciation of this favor, the Assembly at once voted the governor a five years' revenue.

On his arrival in the province, Burnet at once attached himself to Morris, who continued his fast friend during



Portrait of Cadwallader Colden.

his administration. He also formed a friendship with James Alexander, whom we have already mentioned, and Cadwallader Colden, the surveyor-general and master in chancery of the province, who had settled in the city two years before, and who was destined to exert an important influence on its future history. Cadwallader Colden was a Scotch physician of fine talents and thorough education, who settled at Philadelphia soon after his graduation from the University of Edinburgh, and commenced the practice of medicine. He afterwards went to Europe, where he married and resided for a short time, then returned in 1716 to his practice in Philadelphia. In 1718, he removed to New York, where he obtained

an official appointment from his friend and countryman, Governor Hunter, and took up his permanent abode.

These three men, with Schuyler, Smith and Livingston, were now the leading spirits of the province. The council consisted of Peter Schuyler, Abraham de Peyster, Robert Walters, Gerardus Beekman, Rip Van Dam, Caleb Heathcote, John Barbarie, Frederick Philipse, John Johnston, Francis Harrison, Mr. Byerly and Mr. Clarke.

To give a clear idea of the events which signalized the administration of Burnet, we must glance briefly at the general position of affairs in the province. It was the fixed policy of the French government to gain control of the Indian trade, both along the northern frontier and in the regions of the Far West. This not only secured to them a lucrative traffic, but furthered their ultimate design of attaching the Indians to themselves, and, with their aid, rendering themselves masters of the province. For this end, Jesuit missionaries had long been mingling with the wandering tribes, seeking to secure them through conversion to the interests of France. Forsaking the comforts of civilized life, the devoted and adventurous disciples of Loyola penetrated the unknown regions of the West, and, skillfully ingratiating themselves with the sons of the forest, established missions where the foot of white man had never before trod, and laid open the inmost recesses of the wilderness to the march of civilization. In 1675, La Salle had founded Fort Frontenac at the entrance of the Ontario; then, with Tonti and Hennepin, had pushed his explorations to the distant regions of the Mississippi. The missionaries and traders

followed in the path thus opened to them by Jesuitical enterprise, and the Indian territory was soon everywhere traversed by the indefatigable emissaries of the French government. In the beginning of Burnet's administration, the Chevalier de Joncaire, himself a Jesuit and a man of noble birth and fine talents, who, having been made captive by the Senecas, had won their favor and been adopted into their tribe, established a permanent trading-post at Fort Frontenac, from which he designed to command the region of the Mississippi through the medium of the western traders.

As the goods sold by the French traders were mostly of English manufacture, and purchased in the city of New York, the merchants were well satisfied with an arrangement which enabled them to dispose of large quantities of goods with very little risk or trouble to themselves. But Burnet, who had studied the position of affairs attentively before his departure from England, comprehended the ultimate result of this dangerous policy, and saw clearly that the safety of the province depended on establishing a line of English trading-posts along the northern frontier, and thus counteracting the designs of the French government. Through the influence of Lewis Morris, he prevailed upon the first Assembly that convened after his arrival to put an end to the circuitous traffic by passing a bill prohibiting all sales of goods to the French, under penalty of the forfeiture of the articles, with an additional fine of one hundred pounds. This bill was warmly opposed by the merchants interested in the traffic, who, thinking only of the present, viewed it as a death-blow to their lucrative

trade. They complained loudly of the governor's conduct to the Board of Trade, and it was only through the earnest efforts of Cadwallader Colden, who warmly espoused the new policy, that this important measure was finally sustained.

In 1722, Governor Burnet commenced the erection of a trading-post at Oswego, and from this may be dated the foundation of that profitable fur traffic which formed the basis of so many colossal fortunes. This opening of a new path in commerce wrought a revolution in the aims and lives of the young men of the city. These youths, instead of remaining, as formerly, behind their fathers' counters or entering the beaten track of the West India trade, now provided themselves with a stock of guns and blankets, and set out with a trusty servant in a bark canoe to explore the pathless wilderness. Here they roamed for months in the primeval forests, forced at every step to turn aside to avoid some deadly reptile or fierce beast of prey, or to guard against the wiles of an insidious foe, ever on the alert to entrap them in some snare, and to purchase their goods at the expense of their lives. Forced to depend for their subsistence on the quickness of their eye and the sureness of their aim, to journey by day through thicket and marsh, over cataract and rapid, to sleep at night with no other canopy than the stars and sky, and to be constantly on their guard against the unseen danger which was lurking everywhere about them, this forest education called forth all their resources of courage and sagacity, and they came from the trial with muscles of iron, nerves of steel, and a hand and eye that never flinched before

the most deadly peril. No fiction of romance can surpass the adventurous career of these daring travellers who thus pursued the golden fleece in the wilds of America ; and those who came forth from this school of danger were well fitted to play their part in the approaching tragedies of the French and Indian war and the drama of the coming Revolution.

In the same year of the establishment of the Oswego trading-post, a congress composed of the governors of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, with deputies from the other colonies, assembled at Albany to consult together in respect to the war. This congress framed a memorial to the English government, urging the erection of the projected line of trading-posts as the only means of thwarting the policy of the French and securing the safety of the English provinces. No attention was paid to their request, and the scheme that would have protected the colony from the future ravages of the French and Indians was at length reluctantly abandoned by the disappointed governor.

Meanwhile, the usual bickerings had continued to exist between the governor and the Assembly. This body, so friendly to him on his arrival, had in part been alienated by his recent policy. The merchants engaged in the circuitous trade spared no pains to assail him in public and private, and a powerful opposition was thus excited against him. A dispute in which he became involved in 1724 with Stephen De Lancey, a wealthy merchant and a patron of the French Huguenot church in Pine street, increased the difficulty. A portion of the congregation, headed by Mr. De Lancey, becoming dis-

satisfied with the Rev. Louis Rou, the pastor of the church, dismissed him on the charge that he had flagged in his duty, and had introduced innovations into the church discipline. M. Rou and his friends appealed from this decision to the governor and council, who sustained them in opposition to the party of De Lancey, and decided that the malcontents had no right to dismiss their minister. The affair caused great excitement; indignant memorials were published on both sides, and the opposition party which had been raised against the the governor by the suppression of the French trade, received new accessions from day to day. Soon after, De Lancey was elected as member of the Assembly, when Burnet refused to administer the oaths to him, alleging that he was not a subject of the crown. De Lancey, who, though born in France, had left it before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, insisted that he had received a patent of denization in England under the hand and seal of James II., and the Assembly sustained his claims against the governor.

The five years' revenue granted on the arrival of Burnet having expired, the Assembly refused to renew it for a longer term than three years. This was the same Assembly that had been elected under the auspices of Hunter, but its character and disposition had widely changed. Several of the best friends of the governor had died, and their places had been filled by new members; the suppression of the circuitous trade had alienated many more, and the once pliant Assembly had grown harsh and unyielding. Burnet at length dissolved the body; but the new Assembly that convened in 1727

proved still more refractory. This was made up mostly of the friends of the French trade, men whose interests were directly affected by its suppression, and who were chiefly anxious to procure a repeal of the obnoxious act and thus to thwart the policy of Burnet. The continuance of the Court of Chancery, instituted by Hunter, also gave rise to general dissatisfaction, which was greatly increased by his assumption of the chancellorship. After a short session, he dissolved them as incorrigible. But their efforts did not stop here ; his commission expiring soon after, on the death of George I., they represented to the ministry that the interests of the province demanded a new governor. Their arguments were listened to ; Burnet was transferred against his wishes to the government of Massachusetts, and John Montgomerie was appointed his successor. In 1729, the obnoxious act was repealed, the circuitous trade again established, and the ulterior designs of the French government thus aided unwittingly by the merchants of New York.

Burnet was a man of fine talents, but his was the misfortune of not being understood. Had he been ably seconded in the schemes which he sought to execute, he would have saved the province from the horrors of future warfare and insured its peace and prosperity. Of a different stamp from his rapacious predecessors, he spared neither time nor money in the fulfillment of his projects for the public good. The trading-post at Oswego was built in part from his private fortune—a debt which was never repaid by the English government—and he left the province poorer than he had entered it. He was of literary tastes, polished manners and a genial tempera-

ment, and, but for the unhappy dissensions engendered by his system of policy, would have been one of the most popular of the colonial governors. Under his auspices, the era of journalism was first commenced in the city by the *New York Gazette*, published in 1725 by William Bradford, the government printer. This was a half-sheet paper, and was printed once a week. It was increased to four pages during the following year.

We will now glance at the progress of the city during the past eight years. The changes in this time had neither been marked nor numerous. The city had increased in population to nearly eight thousand inhabitants, and the vacant lots were gradually becoming filled up and peopled. In the first year of Burnet's administration, Robert Walters, a Holland merchant, who had long filled a prominent position in the city, was chosen mayor. He was also a member of the council both of Burnet and Montgomerie; was a devoted adherent of the Leislerian party, and a popular man among the democracy. He retained the office of mayor for five years. Little worthy of note occurred during his administration, the principal event of which was the publication of Bradford's newspaper in 1725, of which we have already spoken. Various municipal ordinances concerning the restriction of negroes, etc. were enacted, but they were but modifications of those which we have already noticed.

In 1725, Johannes Jansen, a merchant of Holland origin, was appointed mayor. He retained the office for but one year, when he was succeeded by Robert Lurting, a shipping merchant, who had long been actively

engaged in politics, and had acted as alderman for several years. He retained the office until his death in 1735.

On the 15th of April, 1728, John Montgomerie arrived as governor and chancellor of New York and New Jersey. Montgomerie had been groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, now George II. Though bred a soldier, he was of a yielding and indolent temperament, and his antecedents had not certainly been calculated to fit him for the important command which was now intrusted to him. He came charged to carry out the policy of the late governors, and to sustain the Court of Chancery ; but he shrank from the task, and only assumed the chancellorship when specially commanded ; and then under protest and avowedly as a matter of form. The citizens gave him a cordial welcome. On the day after his arrival, the mayor and corporation presented him the freedom of the city in a gold box ; and at their first session, the Assembly granted him the five years' revenue which they had so persistently refused to the late governor. Affairs glided on smoothly enough during his administration, the principal event in it being the grant of an amended city charter in 1730. By this charter, the limits of the city were made to comprehend four hundred feet below low-water mark on the Hudson River from Minetta Brook or Bestavers Killitje southward to the fort, thence the same number of feet beyond low-water mark round the fort and along the East River as far as the north side of Corlear's Hook, the west side of Pearl street being reserved for the use of the fort. The sole power of establishing ferries about the island, with all the profits accruing therefrom, was

granted to the corporation, the rates of ferriage to be fixed by the governor and council or by an act of the Assembly. A grant and confirmation was also given them of the lands held by them on Long Island, including the ferry, ferry-house and appurtenances. The market-houses, docks, slips and wharves with all the profits arising from them were granted to the city. The appointment of subordinate officers was given to the mayor, with the advice and consent of the common council. Provision was made for a court of common pleas to be held on every Tuesday in the year by the mayor or his deputy, with two or more aldermen, power being given them to adjourn the same for a period not exceeding twenty-eight days. Authority was given to the mayor or recorder, with a majority of the aldermen and assistants, to meet and make or repeal such by-laws and ordinances as they might deem fit—such ordinances to continue in force a twelvemonth unless repealed. Provision was made for a new division of the city into seven wards, the limits to be hereafter determined by the common council, each ward to choose the usual number of officers annually, with such a number of constables as the common council might direct, and to be the sole judge of the election and qualifications of its own officers. The mayor, recorder and aldermen were constituted justices of the peace for the city and county of New York, with power to hear and determine all pleas of forty shillings and under, and to nominate and appoint proper officers for that court. The mayor, recorder and three or more of the aldermen were invested with power to administer oaths to freemen and

officers of the city, and to make as many freemen as they should see fit ; also to hold general quarter sessions for the city and county, the mayor, recorder and eldest alderman constituting the quorum. Power was given to the corporation to erect necessary public buildings and to appoint the proper officers ; also, to sue for their lawful dues and demands in the name of their chamberlain. The petition of the common council that the offices of mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner and town-clerk might henceforth be elective was refused by the governor after some consideration, and these officials continued as heretofore to be appointed by the governor and council. The mayor was appointed clerk of the market for the time being. The jurisdiction of the city was fixed to begin at King's Bridge, thence to run down by the mainland to the point within the shortest distance from Long Island, including Great and Little Barn Island ; thence, crossing to low-water mark on the Long Island shore, to extend down by the same mark to Red Hook ; thence to run on a straight line to the lower end of the southernmost Oyster Island ; thence to extend northerly along the west side of the three Oyster Islands up the Hudson to Spiking Devil or Spuyten Devil Creek, and thence along low-water mark to King's Bridge, the place of beginning. The grant of all the waste and unappropriated lands of the island, which had been made to the city by the Dongan charter of 1686, was again confirmed by the new charter. The wharves along the shores were required to be made forty feet broad, both for the greater convenience of trade, and to fit them for the erection of batteries, the government reserving the

right of planting these in case of necessity. The quit-rent was fixed at ten shillings over and above the former quit-rents. Such was the substance of the conditions of the Montgomerie charter.*

In the first year of Montgomerie's administration, a Jewish cemetery was first established in the city. This was bounded by Chatham, Oliver, Henry and Catherine streets, and was given in 1729 by Noe Willey of London to his three sons, merchants in New York, to be held as a burial-place for the Jewish nation forever. But the eye of the old Hebrew could not pierce into futurity; the trust was violated many years ago, and warehouses now cover the site once destined as a final resting-place for the Jewish Rabbis. Several years previously, a Jewish synagogue had been erected in Mill street.

The city was gradually extending its limits, and the powder-house which had been built a few years before on the Commons began to be considered as an unsafe place of deposit for the powder which was stored there. A new magazine was accordingly determined on, and after some deliberation, the corporation selected a pretty little island in the Fresh Water Pond as the most available location, and erected a storehouse there in 1728 for the safe keeping of the explosive material.

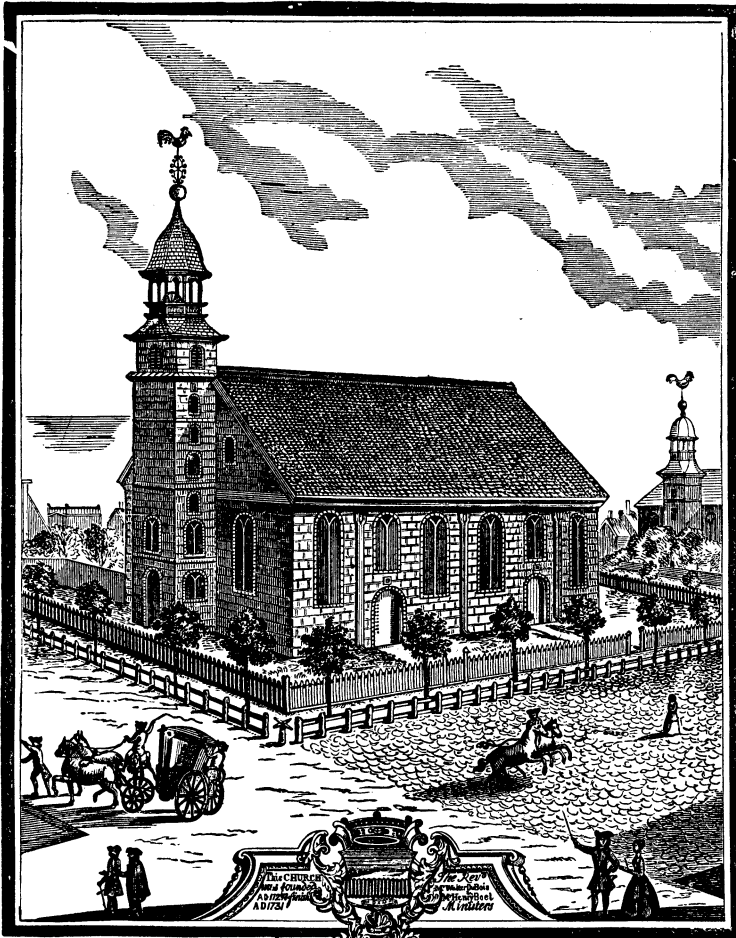
The Garden street church having become full to overflowing, a portion of the congregation determined to colonize, and, in 1726, purchased a lot of ground on the corner of Nassau and Liberty, then Crown street, and commenced the erection of the Middle Dutch church.

* This was based on the Dongan Charter.

But ere long the undertaking came to a full stop for want of funds, and, in 1729, the congregation applied to the governor for a license to make a collection in aid of its completion. This was granted; the money was soon raised, and the church was finished and opened in the course of the same year. It was at first without a gallery; the pulpit was on the east side, and two doors opened on the west. For the first thirty years, the services were performed exclusively in the Dutch language, after which the English service was used half the time, much to the dissatisfaction of the sires of the congregation. In 1776, the pews were torn out and used for fuel, while the church became the prison-house of three thousand Americans. When no longer desired for this purpose, it was converted into a riding-school for the British cavalry, and the walls which had so often reëchoed the fervent prayers of the pious dominies now rang with the caracolling of steeds and the jests of the soldiery. Adjoining it, in Liberty street, stood the old sugar-house, built in 1689 in the days of Leisler, and also



Old Sugar House in Liberty Street, the Prison House of the Revolution.



To the Honourable
RIP VAN DAM. Esq
PRESIDENT of His Majesty's Council for the PROVINCE of NEWYORK
This View of the New Dutch Church is most humbly
Dedicated by your Honour's most Obedient Serv^t W^m Burghis

Middle Dutch Church in Olden Time. (Now the Post-office.)

transformed into a prison for the patriots. After the close of the war, both buildings returned to their original use. The sugar-house was levelled in 1840 before the march of modern improvements; the church long continued the general post-office of the city of New York.

Soon after the erection of the Middle Dutch church, it was proposed to extend the city on the west side by rescuing Greenwich and Washington streets from the waters; and they were ordered to be surveyed and laid out above the Battery along the lines of high and low-water mark; the high-water mark to be the centre of one street, and the low-water mark, the centre of the other. It was also determined to establish three new slips, one opposite Morris street, another opposite Exchange Place, and a third opposite Rector street. The streets, however, were not built upon until several years after. A line of stages was established between New York and Philadelphia, to run once a fortnight during the winter months, and proposals were issued for a foot post to Albany.

In 1729, a library of 1,622 volumes, which had been bequeathed by the Rev. John Millington, Rector of Newington, England, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was presented by them to the city for a public library. To these was added a collection presented in 1700 by the Rev. John Sharp, chaplain of Lord Bellamont, and the whole was opened to the public under the supervision of the latter gentleman as "the Corporation Library." But the librarian died soon after, and the books were neglected and almost forgotten until 1754, when a number of public-spirited citizens organized themselves into a body and founded

the Society Library, obtaining permission from the Common Council to add the Corporation Library to their collection and to deposit their books in the City Hall. Here the library continued to increase and prosper. In 1772, a charter was granted it by George III. under the name of the New York Society Library, and under the new impetus given it by this incorporation, it flourished till all thoughts of literary enterprise were banished by the general stagnation of the Revolution. The city fell into the hands of the British and the library into the hands of the British soldiery ; and, in the scenes of Vandalism which followed, the choice and valuable collection which had been gathered with so much care, was scattered, mutilated and almost totally destroyed. For fourteen years, the library was neglected by its founders in the excitement of the struggle for liberty ; then, in 1783, when peace was finally declared, the scattered elements of the society reunited, and, reviving their charter, once more commenced the collection of books. In 1793, a library building was erected in Nassau street, which was at that time considered one of the architectural lions of the city. But the collection soon outgrew its new quarters, and, removing temporarily into the Mechanics' Society building in Chambers street, continued there until the completion of the new library on the corner of Broadway and Leonard streets in 1840. Hardly was it established here when the upward rush of business forced it again to vacate this and to seek a new resting-place in the upper part of the town. For a time, it established itself in the Bible House in Astor Place, then removed, in 1857, to its new edifice in University Place between

Twelfth and Thirteenth street, which seems spacious enough for all present exigencies. Such was the rise and progress of the first public library of New York.

But we must return from our present surroundings to the days of olden time. At this period, markets were notable institutions. They were established at the foot of almost every street along the East River. Several market-places were to be found in the heart of the city, the upper end of Broad street was a public stand for country wagons, and a market occupied the centre of Broadway, opposite Liberty street. In 1732, another market-house was erected at the foot of Fulton street on the North River side for the accommodation of countrymen from Jersey.

Changes were also wrought in the lower part of the city. We have before noticed the erection of a battery on the rocks near Whitehall slip. This name originated in a large house on the corner of Whitehall and State streets, erected by Petrus Stuyvesant during his administration, and known to the people of that day as "the Stuyvesant Huys." It afterwards fell into the hands of Governor Dongan, who christened it "the White Hall." This subsequently became the Custom House of the city. Adjoining this was the store in which Jacob Leisler had transacted business during his lifetime, and from which that part of Whitehall between State and Pearl streets had at one time been known as Leisler street. Opposite Whitehall street, in the block bounded by Whitehall, Pearl, Moore and State streets, was an open space known as "the Strand," and used as a market-place for country-wagons. In 1732, this space, having grown too val-

uable to be used for such a purpose, was divided into seven lots and sold at auction at prices ranging from one hundred and fifty-six to two hundred and seventy-nine pounds sterling. In the same year, the vacant space in front of the fort which had hitherto been used for a market-place, parade-ground, and similar purposes, was leased to Frederick Philipse, John Chambers, and John Roosevelt, for ten years, at a yearly rent of a peppercorn, to be used as a bowling-green. Soon after, Pearl street, the ancient cow-path, which led from the settlement to the common pasture, and along the line of which houses had sprung up without regard to mathematical squares and angles, was regulated, so far as regulation was possible, and established as a public road.

“The Commons,” of which we have spoken before, consisted originally of nearly a square piece of ground, bounded on the east and west by Nassau street and Broadway, and on the north and south by Chambers and Ann streets. Through this passed the post-road, the present Chatham street, cutting off a triangle on the east side, a part of which was used for public amusements and was known as “the Vineyard.” The present Park was a level plain, so level indeed that it came to be known as “the Vlackte,” or “Flat;” a name which still lives in the memory of our oldest inhabitants. For many years, this was the place of public execution, the gallows standing near the present Hall of Records.

North of this lay the Fresh Water Pond, with its neighboring district of the Collect or Kalch-Hook. This name, which finally came to be applied to the pond

itself, was originally given by the Dutch settlers to a point of land on the shores of the pond of about forty-eight acres in extent, the site of an old Indian village. The Fresh Water Pond was one of those traditional ponds which are found in every village, reputed to have no bottom—a reputation which it failed to sustain against the researches of modern times. . The pond was, indeed, very deep ; deep enough, in fact, to have floated the largest ships in the navy. Its waters were filled with roach and sunfish, and to preserve these, the city authorities passed an ordinance in 1734, forbidding any person to fish in it with nets, or in any other way than angling. But the beautiful pond has passed away, and the spot where its sparkling waters once played is now filled by the “Halls of Justice” with its gloomy prison cells.

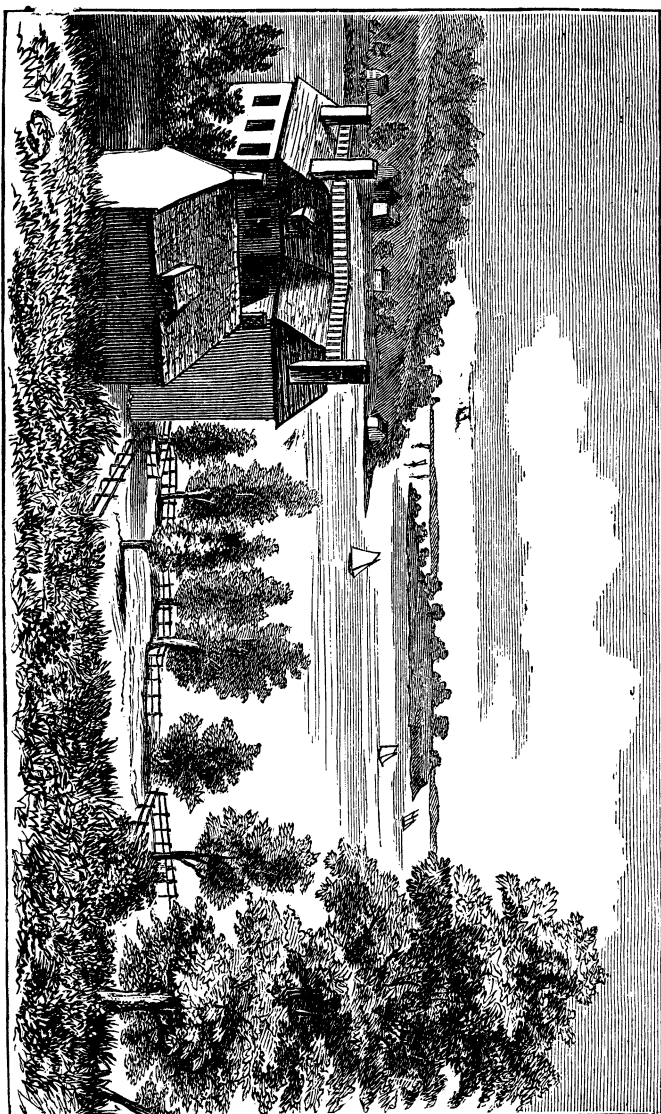
Below the Commons, on the east side of the city, was “the Swamp,” in the vicinity of Ferry street, a low ground, covered with tangled briers. This tract was sold in 1734 for two hundred pounds to Jacobus Roosevelt, who laid out the ground into fifty lots and established several tanneries on it. This was indicative of its future destiny, for it has ever since remained the seat of the leather business of New York.

South of this region lay two estates known as the “Shoemakers’ Land,” and “Vandercliff’s orchard,” the first of which we have already described. The Vandercliff farm, which was bounded on the east and west by the East River and the Shoemakers’ Land, and on the north and south by Beekman street and Maiden Lane, was originally owned by Hendrick Rycker, who sold it in 1680 to Dirck Vandercliff. The new proprietor continued to

reside on it until his death, after which it was divided into lots, which were sold at prices ranging from twenty to thirty pounds each. This tract became classic ground in the days of the Revolution, under the more euphonious name of Golden Hill. Cliff street still preserves a part of the ancient title.

Along the Bowery road lay Steenwyck's orchard, Heerman's orchard, and the well-known Stuyvesant "bouwerie," whence it derived its name. Near the latter, in the neighborhood of the present Grammercy Park, was "Crummashie Hill." Above this, lay the Zant-berg hills, with Minetta brook, winding its way through the marshy valley on the other side to its outlet in the North River; and still further to the north, in the vicinity of Thirty-sixth street and Fifth Avenue, was the Ingleuberg, or Beacon Hill, the Murray Hill of modern times, which commanded a view of the whole island.

On the lands of Nicholas Bayard, in the vicinity of Grand and Centre streets rose Bayard's Mount, afterwards known as Mount Pleasant and Bunker's Hill. From this, the Crown Point road stretched along the line of Grand street to Crown Point or Corlear's Hook, once the farm of Jacobus Van Corlaer, passing over Jones' Hill, at the junction of Grand and Division streets. Near the Collect rose the Potters' Hill, at the foot of which flowed the Ould Kill, conveying the waters of the pond through the marshy Wolfert's Valley, to their outlet in the East River. This valley derived its name from its original proprietor, Jacob Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven. A bridge was thrown across the stream, near the junction



Old Rutgers Mansion, on the shore of the East River.

of Roosevelt and Chatham streets, for the accommodation of travellers. This creek, with the Fresh Water Pond and the great Lispenard Meadows at the north-west, formed a chain of waters quite across the island.

On the west side of Broadway above Trinity Church was the King's Arms Tavern, the principal inn of the city, and the head-quarters of the anti-Leislerian party. Its grounds were extensive, running down to the river and stretching a considerable distance along Broadway. North of this were the estates of Van Cortlandt and Dey, and above these the old King's Farm, which had originally been the property of the Dutch West India Company, then, falling, in 1664, into the hands of the English captors, had been increased by the purchase of the estate of Aneke Jans, and had afterwards been presented to Trinity Church by Queen Anne. In 1720, the southern part of this farm was surveyed and laid out into streets which were named in honor of the various church dignitaries. At this time, Broadway extended no further than its junction with Chatham street.

In 1731, the city was divided into seven wards in conformity with the provisions of the Montgomerie charter. In the same year, the first steps were taken towards organizing a Fire Department on a permanent basis. Hitherto, the means for extinguishing fires had been of the most primitive kind--a few leather buckets, a couple of fire-hooks and poles, and seven or eight ladders constituting the sum total. In the early part of the eighteenth century, fire engines were successfully introduced into England, and in 1731, the corporation of New York resolved to import two for the use of the city.

This was accordingly done, and a room in the City Hall was fitted up for their reception. In 1736, an engine-house was built in Broad street, and a contract made with Jacobus Turk to keep the engines clean and in good order for the sum of ten pounds per annum. In 1737, a Fire Department was organized and twenty-five members enrolled, who, in consideration of their services, were excused from performing military duty or from serving as constables, jurors, or surveyors of highways.

On the 1st of July, 1731, Governor Montgomerie died, after a peaceful administration of two years, and was succeeded by Rip Van Dam, the eldest member of the council. Mr. Van Dam was of Holland origin, his father having settled in the city in the days of Stuyvesant. He was engaged in commerce, like most of the leading men of the time, and carried on an extensive foreign trade ; and had been for several years a member of the council when called to the head of affairs by the sudden death of the governor. Little occurred worthy of note during the thirteen months of his administration. At the end of that time, Colonel William Cosby arrived as his successor.

CHAPTER XI.

1732—1741.

The Zenger Trial.

THE citizens gained as little by the change in the government as did the frogs in the fable by parting with King Log. Unlike the yielding and good-natured Montgomerie, Cosby was testy, despotic, and rapacious withal. A short time previously, when governor of Minorca, he had been detected in a fraudulent transaction, the odium of which had caused his recall. But he had served the interests of the colonists while in England by opposing an obnoxious sugar bill proposed by the Board of Trade—an act which disposed them to receive him as a friend. Under the influence of this feeling, the Assembly that was in session at his arrival, cheerfully granted him a revenue for six years, and presented him with seven hundred and fifty pounds as a token of gratitude for his opposition to the obnoxious bill. But the smallness of the sum incensed the governor. “Why did they not add the shillings and pence?” asked he tauntingly of Morris, who was one of the council.

The first act of Cosby after his arrival in the province

was to produce a royal order, prescribing an equal division of the salary, emoluments and perquisites of the office since the time of his appointment, between himself and Rip Van Dam. Van Dam declared his willingness to comply with the order, and to divide the salary he had received, which was a little less than two thousand pounds; but only on condition that Cosby should also divide the six thousand pounds which he had received as perquisites before reaching the province. Indignant at the evident partiality to English favorites, the mass of the people supported him in this position. It was obvious that if the English government could take a fairly earned salary from the hands of an official and share it with one who had done nothing to deserve it, there was very little security for the rights of colonial subjects. The citizens were growing weary of the rapacity of English adventurers; they saw that the interests of the colonies were wholly disregarded by the home government, and that they were chiefly valued as a means whereby to repair the fortunes of spendthrift noblemen; and, incensed beyond measure at this last act of tyranny, they took a bold stand which shadowed forth their coming resistance.

The council was at this time composed of Messrs. Clark, Harrison, Horsmanden, Kennedy, Colden, Lane, De Lancey, Cortlandt, Philipse and Livingston. Robert Morris was chief justice of the Supreme Court, and James De Lancey and Adolphus Philipse second and third judges. James De Lancey was the son of the Huguenot, Stephen De Lancey, whom we have already seen figuring prominently in public affairs. He had

been appointed by Governor Montgomerie to fill the place in the council rendered vacant by the death of John Barbarie, and it was not long before he was numbered among the leading men of the province. Adolphus Philipse was the son of Frederick Philipse of Leislerian notoriety. Both were attached to the anti-Leislerian or conservative faction, in opposition to Morris, who was a warm adherent of the democratic party.

To recover the half of the salary which he claimed, Cosby instituted proceedings against Van Dam before the judges of the Supreme Court as barons of the Exchequer ; a position in which they were entitled to act by their commission. As Cosby himself was chancellor *ex officio*, and De Lancey and Philipse were known as his intimate friends, William Smith and James Alexander, who acted as Van Dam's counsel, excepted to the jurisdiction of the court in the case, and endeavored to institute a suit at common law. Their plea was supported by Chief Justice Morris, but was overruled by De Lancey and Philipse, and these two constituting a majority, the cause of Van Dam was declared lost, and he was ordered to pay half of his salary to the governor. Morris published his opinion, upon which Cosby removed him from his office, and appointed De Lancey chief justice in his stead, without asking the advice of the council. Van Dam and several others were also suspended, and Cosby gained an apparent triumph.

This high-handed proceeding aroused the indignation of the people, and murmurs of discontent pervaded the city. "I have great interest in England," said the

governor, carelessly, when some of these reached his ears. Yet this did not prevent him from sending a justification of his conduct to the Board of Trade, urging the necessity of arbitrary measures in order to preserve the king's prerogative, and accusing the people of being tainted with "Boston principles."

The people, though defeated, were not disposed to be silent. The contemptible meanness of the whole affair had excited their merriment as well as their indignation, and squibs, lampoons and satirical ballads hailed without mercy upon the aristocratic party. In their train followed the first newspaper controversy ever carried on in New York. We have already mentioned the publication of the *New York Gazette*, by William Bradford, the government printer. This, deriving its support from the government, naturally espoused the cause of Cosby. While the suit against Van Dam was in progress, John Peter Zenger, a printer by trade, and collector of the city taxes, set up a new paper called the *New York Weekly Journal*,* which at once became the vehicle of the opposition. The columns of the new journal were filled from week to week with able and caustic articles, satirizing the proceedings of the Court of Exchequer, and assailing the acts of the government party. No one was spared; the governor, council and Assembly were alike made to feel the sharp lash of the critic; the

* This was the second newspaper published in New York, and was first issued on the 5th of November, 1733. Zenger was originally a Palatine orphan, and was apprenticed to Bradford at ten years of age. He published the Journal until his death in 1746, after which it was continued by his widow, Catherine Zenger, till December, 1748, when she resigned the publication to her son, John Zenger. It was discontinued in 1752, after an existence of nineteen years.

permanent revenue, the Court of Chancery, the system of taxation, and all the other colonial grievances were taken up and fearlessly discussed, and the attack was carried on in a satirical vein, well calculated to enrage the victims beyond expression. The authorship of these articles was generally attributed to the defeated councillors, William Smith and James Alexander. The people were delighted with the wit and pungency of these missiles, but they were not relished quite so well by the governor and council, who deemed them incendiary productions, and as such, demanded the punishment of the author. At a meeting of the council on the 2d of November, 1734, four numbers of the obnoxious paper containing the alleged libels were ordered to be burnt at the pillory by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the mayor and aldermen. Robert Lurting was at this time mayor of the city. On the presentation of the order at the quarter sessions, the aldermen protested against it, and the court refused to suffer it to be entered; Francis Harrison, the recorder, alone attempting to justify it by precedents drawn from the English courts. They even forbade the hangman to execute the order; and his place was supplied by a negro slave of the sheriff. The papers were burned in the presence of Harrison and a few of the partisans of the governor, the magistrates unanimously refusing to witness the ceremony.

A few days after, Zenger was arrested, on the charge of publishing seditious libels, thrown into prison, and denied the use of pen, ink and paper. The jails at this time, and indeed as late as 1760, were all under the

roof of the City Hall, in Wall street ; this building, therefore, served as the prison of Zenger. His friends procured a habeas corpus and insisted on his being admitted to bail, when he was ordered by the court to give bail for four hundred pounds, with two additional sureties of two hundred pounds each. This was impossible—he swore that, excepting the tools of his trade, he was not worth forty pounds in the world, and the oath procured his recommittal to prison. In the meantime, he continued to edit his paper, giving directions to his assistants through a chink in the door. His adversaries replied through the columns of *Bradford's Gazette*, and still more effectually, through the decrees of the courts which they held at their disposal.

The grand-jury having refused to find an indictment against the prisoner, on the 28th of January, 1735, the attorney-general filed an information against him for a false, scandalous, seditious and malicious libel. Smith and Alexander were retained as his counsel. They began by taking exceptions to the commissions of Chief Justice De Lancy and Judge Philipse, because these commissions ran during pleasure instead of during good behavior in conformity with the usual formula, and had been granted by the governor without the advice or consent of his council. The court refused to listen to the plea, and to punish the audacity of the counsel for framing it, ordered their names to be struck from the list of attorneys.

At this time, there were but three lawyers of eminence in the city—Smith, Alexander, and Murray ; and the latter of these being retained by the government party,

Zenger was thus left destitute of any able counsel. This was exactly what the court had wished and foreseen. Determined to thwart this ingeniously concerted intrigue, his friends secretly engaged the services of the venerable Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, then eighty years of age, but in full possession of his faculties, and one of the most distinguished barristers of the day. Hamilton was imbued with the liberal principles that were fast springing up on the soil of America, and had shown himself earnest in opposing the despotic tyranny which England was beginning openly to exert over her colonial possessions. A more able or eloquent advocate could scarcely have been found, and the scheme which had been designed by the enemies of Zenger to insure his ruin, ultimately proved the means of his salvation.

On the 4th of August, 1735, the court assembled in the City Hall for the trial of the prisoner. The courtroom was crowded to excess, and the unexpected appearance of the eloquent Hamilton as counsel for Zenger filled the opposition party with astonishment and dismay. The trial came on in the Supreme Court, De Lancey acting as chief justice, Philipse as second judge, and Bradley as attorney-general. John Chambers, who had been appointed by the court as counsel for the prisoner, pleaded "not guilty" in behalf of his client, and obtained a struck jury composed of Thomas Hunt, foreman, Stanley Holmes, Edward Mann, John Bell, Harmanus Rutgers, Samuel Weaver, Egbert Van Borson, Andries Marschalk, Abraham Ketteltas, Benjamin Hildreth, Hercules Wendover and John Goelet. As this trial possesses peculiar interest to our readers as being the dawn of the Revolu-

tion in the city of New York, and the first vindication of the freedom of the press in America, we will transcribe the alleged libels in full, that they may the better comprehend the force of the arguments and the position of affairs. The libels complained of read as follows :

“ Your appearance in print at last gives a pleasure to many, though most wish you had come fairly into the open field, and not appeared behind retrenchments made up of the supposed laws against libelling ; these retrenchments, gentlemen, may soon be shown to you and all men to be very weak, and to have neither law nor reason for their foundation, so cannot long stand you in stead ; therefore you had much better as yet leave them, and come to what the people of this city and province think on the points in question. They think as matters now stand that their liberties and properties are precarious, and that slavery is like to be entailed on them and their posterity if some past things be not amended, and this they collect from many past proceedings.”

“ One of our neighbors of New Jersey being in company, observing the strangers of New York full of complaints, endeavored to persuade them to remove into Jersey ; to which it was replied, that would be leaping out of the frying-pan into the fire ; ‘ for,’ says he, ‘ we both are under the same governor, and your Assembly have shown with a witness what is to be expected from them.’ One that was then moving from New York to Pennsylvania, to which place it is reported several considerable men are removing, expressed in very moving terms much concern for the circumstances

“ of New York, and seemed to think them very much
“ owing to the influence that some men had in the admin-
“ istration, said he was now going from them, and was
“ not to be hurt by any measures they should take ; but
“ could not help having some concern for the welfare of
“ his countrymen, and should be glad to hear that the
“ Assembly would exert themselves as became them, by
“ showing that they have the interest of the country
“ more at heart than the gratification of the private views
“ of any of their members, or being at all affected by the
“ smiles or frowns of a governor ; both of which ought
“ equally to be despised when the interest of their coun-
“ try is at stake. ‘ You,’ says he, ‘ complain of the lawyers,
“ but I think that the law itself is at an end. We see
“ men’s deeds destroyed ; judges arbitrarily displaced ;
“ new courts erected without consent of the legislature,
“ by which it seems to me, trials by juries are taken away
“ whenever a governor pleases, men of known estates
“ denied their votes, contrary to the received practice of
“ the best expositor of any law. Who is there in that
“ province that can call anything his own, or enjoy any
“ liberty longer than those in the administration will
“ condescend to let them do it, for which reason I left
“ it, as I believe more will.’ ”

Hamilton boldly admitted the publication of these articles. “ Then the verdict must be for the king ! ” exclaimed Bradley, triumphantly. Hamilton quietly reminded him that printing and libelling were not synonymous terms, and was proceeding to prove the truth of the charges contained in the alleged libels, when he was interrupted by the attorney-general, on the plea

that the truth of a libel could not be taken in evidence. "What is a libel?" asked Hamilton in reply. "What the legal authorities declare it to be," returned Bradley. "Whether the person defamed be a private man, or a magistrate, whether living or dead, whether the libel be true or false, or the party against whom it is made be of good or evil fame, it is nevertheless a libel, and as such, must be dealt with according to law; for in a settled state of government, every person has a right to redress for all grievances done him. As to its publication, the law has taken such great care of men's reputations that if one maliciously repeats it or sings it in the presence of another, or delivers a copy of it over to defame or scandalize the party, he is to be punished as the publisher of a libel. It is likewise evident that it is an offence against the law of God, for Paul himself has said, 'I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest; for it is written, thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.'"

Continuing at length in the same strain of argument, he went on to demonstrate that Zenger had been guilty of a gross offence against God and man in attacking by words and innuendoes the sacred person of royalty through its representative, the governor, and quoted precedents to show that, whether true or false, a libel remained the same in the eye of the law. Despite the indignant protests of Hamilton, the court sustained the sage conclusions of the attorney-general, and decided that a libel was all the more dangerous for being true. After some brilliant sparring between the eloquent advocate, and Bradley and De Lancey, in which the two lat-

ter gentlemen were decidedly worsted, Chambers proceeded to address the jury in behalf of his client. Hamilton followed in a brilliant speech, ridiculing with biting sarcasm the decision of the court that truth only made a libel the more dangerous; and insisting that the jury were the judges both of the law and the fact, he adjured them to protect their own liberties, now threatened in the person of the persecuted Zenger. He quoted the precedent of the Quakers in London, who, having been shut out of their own meeting-house, preached to three hundred of their persuasion in the streets, and were afterwards indicted for disturbing the peace by gathering together a tumultuous assembly. In this case, the fact of the meeting being confessed, the court had charged the jury to convict the prisoners; but the jury had asserted their right to judge of the character of the assembly, and finding it neither tumultuous nor unlawful, had returned a verdict of "not guilty." After urging the evident analogy of this case to that of his client, "It is very plain," said he, "that the jury are by law at liberty (without any affront to the judgment of the court) to find both the law and the fact in our case. And may I not, too, be allowed to say that, by a little countenance, almost anything which a man writes may, with the help of that useful term of art, called an innuendo, be construed to be a libel, according to Mr. Attorney's definition of it; that whether the words are spoken of a person of public character, or of a private man, whether dead or living, good or bad, true or false, all make a libel, for, according to Mr. Attorney, after a man hears a writing read, or reads or repeats

“ it, or laughs at it, they all are punishable. It is true;
“ Mr. Attorney is so good as to allow, after the party
“ knows it to be a libel ; but he is not so kind as to take
“ the man’s word for it.

“ If a libel is understood in the large and unlimited
“ sense urged by Mr. Attorney, there is scarce a writing
“ I know that may not be called a libel, or scarce any per-
“ son safe from being called to account as a libeller ; for
“ Moses, meek as he was, libelled Cain, and who is it that
“ has not libelled the devil; for, according to Mr. Attorney,
“ it is no justification to say that one has a bad name.
“ Echard has libelled our good King William. Burnet
“ has libelled among others, King Charles and King
“ James, and Rapin has libelled them all. How must a
“ man speak or write, or what must he hear, read, or sing,
“ or when must he laugh, so as to be secure from being
“ taken up as a libeller. I sincerely believe that were
“ some persons to go through the streets of New York
“ now-a-days and read a part of the Bible, if it were
“ not known to be such, Mr. Attorney, with the help of
“ his innuendoes, would easily turn it to be a libel. As
“ for instance, the sixteenth verse of the ninth chapter of
“ Isaiah : ‘ The leaders of the people (innuendo, the gov-
“ ernor and council of New York) cause them (innuendo,
“ the people of this province) to err, and they (meaning
“ the people of this province) are destroyed (innuendo,
“ are deceived into the loss of their liberty), which is the
“ worst kind of destruction.’ Or, if some person should
“ publicly repeat, in a manner not pleasing to his betters,
“ the tenth and eleventh verses of the fifty-fifth chapter
“ of the same book, then Mr. Attorney would have a

“large field to display his skill in the artful application
“of his innuendoes. The words are, ‘His watchmen are
“all blind, they are ignorant; yea, they are greedy
“dogs, that can never have enough.’ But to make
“them a libel, no more is wanting than the aid of his
“skill in the right adapting of his innuendoes. As for
“instance, ‘His watchmen (innuendo, the governor, coun-
“cil, and Assembly) are blind; they are ignorant
“(innuendo, will not see the dangerous designs of his
“excellency); yea they (meaning the governor and
“council) are greedy dogs which can never have enough
“(innuendo, of riches and power).’”

After dwelling on the fact that, laughable as these illustrations might be, they were strictly analogous to the charges against his client, and urging the jury to judge for themselves of the truth or falsehood of Zenger’s articles and to render their verdict accordingly, the eloquent barrister thus concluded his remarks: “I am truly
“unequal to such an undertaking on many accounts.
“And you see I labor under the weight of many years,
“and am borne down by many infirmities of body; yet,
“old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if
“required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where
“my service could be of any use in assisting to quench
“the flame of prosecutions upon informations set on foot
“by the government to deprive a people of the right of
“remonstrating (and complaining too) against the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who injure and
“oppress the people under their administration provoke
“them to cry out and complain, and then make that
“very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and

“prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no
“instances of this kind. But to conclude, the question
“before the Court and you, gentlemen of the jury, is
“not of small or private concern ; it is not the cause of
“a poor printer, nor of New York alone which you are
“now trying. No ! it may, in its consequences, affect
“every freeman that lives under the British gov-
“ernment upon the main of America. It is the best
“cause ; it is the cause of liberty ; and I make no doubt
“but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle
“you to the love and esteem of your fellow citizens ; but
“every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery,
“will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the
“attempts of tyranny, and, by an impartial and incorrupt
“verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to
“ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to
“which nature and the laws of our country have given
“us a right—the liberty of both exposing and opposing
“arbitrary power in these parts of the world at least by
“speaking and writing truth.”

The orator concluded amidst a burst of applause. Every eye in the court-room glistened with admiration, and every heart forgot the dead letter of the law in the living inspiration of truth and patriotism. Wholly borne down by this torrent of eloquence, Bradley attempted but a brief reply, and De Lancey vainly charged the jury that they were judges of the fact but not of the law, and that the truth of the libel was a question beyond their jurisdiction. Reason and common sense prevailed for once over technicalities ; the jury withdrew, and returned after a few minutes' deliberation, with the

unanimous verdict of "not guilty." The court-room rung with huzzas which the disappointed judges vainly endeavored to suppress, and Hamilton was borne from the hall by the exultant crowd to a splendid entertainment prepared for his reception. The next day, a public dinner was given him by the whole city, at which the corporation presented him with the freedom of the city in token of their appreciation of his defence of the rights of the people and the freedom of the press. A magnificent gold box, in which to inclose the certificate, was also purchased by private subscription and presented to him on the part of the citizens. On this was engraved the arms of the city, encircled with the words, "DEMERSÆ LEGES TIMEFACTA LIBERTAS—HÆC TANDEM "EMERGUNT;" within a flying garter, "NON NUMMIS, "VIRTUTE PARATUR;" and on the front, "ITA CUIQUE "EVENIAT UT DE REPUBLICA MERUIT." The entertainment over, Mr. Hamilton was escorted to the wharf by a crowd of citizens, and entered the barge to return to Philadelphia under a triumphant salute of cannon.

Thus ended the celebrated Zenger trial, which established the freedom of the press, and planted the seeds which germinated among the people and sprung up, like the sown dragon's teeth, a host of armed warriors. But its result was chiefly due to the brilliant defence of its eloquent advocate; and the daring political principles, for the first time in America fearlessly avowed in it, and as fearlessly maintained by an independent jury in the face of an interested court and an arbitrary governor, formed a precedent for resistance to oppression which ripened at last into the American Revolution.

The corporation, however, did not persist in their independence, but obsequiously courted the favor of the governor by waiting on his brother, Major Alexander Cosby, and his son-in-law, Thomas Freeman, on their arrival in the province, and, presenting them with the freedom of the city in silver boxes, besides offering them the most fulsome adulation. The veneration for nobility was still existing in the minds of the citizens, and of the officials most especially ; and they let slip no opportunity of manifesting it when it was not in direct opposition to their rights or interests. Soon after the arrival of Cosby and Freeman, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the youngest son of the Duke of Grafton, visited the governor. Hardly had he landed, when the corporation waited on him in a body, and, congratulating him on his safe arrival and thanking him for having honored New York with his presence, presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box. The mention of this occurrence is the most important record found upon the minutes of 1732. The same record also informs us that, while fourteen pounds eight shillings was paid for this box, but ten pounds could be afforded for the quarter's salary of the public schoolmaster. This same Lord Augustus Fitzroy afterwards became the hero of a romantic episode. Being a youth of a susceptible temperament, he soon fell in love with the governor's daughter. By the standard of society, the match was beneath him, and though her parents probably encouraged it in secret, they dared not give their consent openly. A clergyman was secretly introduced into the fort, and the marriage ceremony performed without license. The affair gave great dis-

pleasure to the friends of the young nobleman, who accused Cosby of having inveigled him into an unequal marriage, and the union proved an unhappy one in many respects.

The check which Cosby had received in the Zenger affair did not hinder him from further attempts against the liberties of the people. He refused to dissolve the Assembly, contrary to their own wishes and the petition of the citizens, ordered a re-survey of the old grants and patents in the hope of deriving a revenue from the fees, and destroyed valuable documents which had been intrusted to him by the corporation of Albany, and which were obstacles in the way of his acquisitions. On the 10th of March, 1736, his rapacity was suddenly checked by his death. But, retaining his animosity to the last, he called the members of his council together in his chamber, and suspended Rip Van Dam, his former antagonist, who, as the eldest member, was legally his successor.

Upon the announcement of Cosby's decease, the council assembled, and for the first time proclaiming the suspension of Van Dam, proceeded to administer the oaths of office to George Clarke, the next in council. The declaration of this fact was the signal for new dissensions. As the eldest member of the council, Van Dam was entitled to administer the government, and, knowing himself to be popular, he demanded it as his right, claiming the suspension to be invalid. The people, headed by Morris, who had just arrived from England, whither he had gone for the purpose of effecting the removal of Cosby, rallied round their favorite, and exhibited such

unmistakable signs of hostility that Clarke hastily retreated into the fort, and summoned the military to his aid. Terrified at the threatening state of affairs, he sent to Morris to ask his advice. "If you don't hang them, they will hang you," was the significant reply. But he did not need to have recourse to such desperate measures, for, on the 14th of October, dispatches arrived from England which confirmed him in his authority and commissioned him to act as lieutenant-governor.

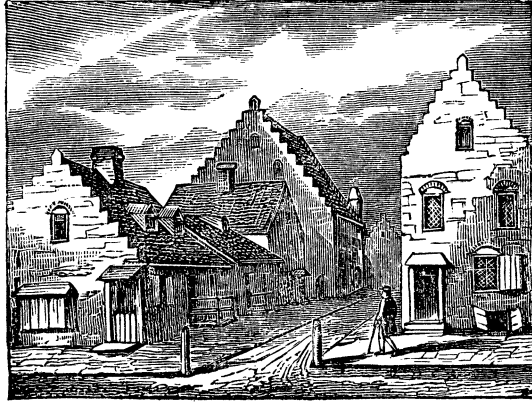
Clarke, though born in England, had long been a resident of the colony. He was politic and sagacious, comprehending the spirit of the people and the best methods of winning popularity. Knowing that he could only hope to hold the office until the appointment of a new governor, and anxious in the meantime to secure a princely fortune, his chief aim was to act in such a manner as to ingratiate himself with both parties. His first act was to dissolve the Assembly, and to restore Smith and Alexander to the bar. Lewis Morris had previously been appointed governor of New Jersey, now again divorced from New York.

A new Assembly, consisting in great part of the popular party, met in the summer of 1737, and many important bills were passed during their first session. But, despite the insinuating policy of the new lieutenant-governor, they firmly refused to grant a revenue for a longer time than one year, and this resolution was strictly adhered to in future. One of the most significant incidents in this session, as marking the popular prejudices of the times, was an act disfranchising the Jews in the

province. This fanatical proceeding was owing chiefly to the efforts of William Smith, the lawyer, who has already figured so prominently in our pages.

We will now glance at the progress of the city during the administration of the late governor. In 1734, the first poor-house, of which we have already made mention, was erected in the Commons on the site of the future "Old Alms-house." The building was forty-six feet long, twenty-four feet wide and two stories high, with a cellar, and was furnished with implements of labor for the use of the inmates. The churchwardens were appointed as overseers of the poor, and all paupers were required to work under penalty of receiving moderate correction. Parish children were to be taught there to read, write and cast accounts, and to be employed in some useful labor ; and as the building was also a house of correction, it was used as a sort of calaboose for unruly slaves, their masters having permission to send them thither for punishment. A large vegetable garden was laid out about the house, which was cultivated by the inmates, and the produce devoted to the use of the institution. In the same year, Cortlandt street was first surveyed and opened.

In 1735, Robert Lurting died, after having discharged the duties of the mayoralty for nine years, and Paul Richard was appointed in his stead. Mr. Richard was a merchant of French extraction, his grandfather having emigrated from France to New York in the early days of the English conquest. He retained the office for three years. The first event of importance during his administration was the laying of the first stone of the battery

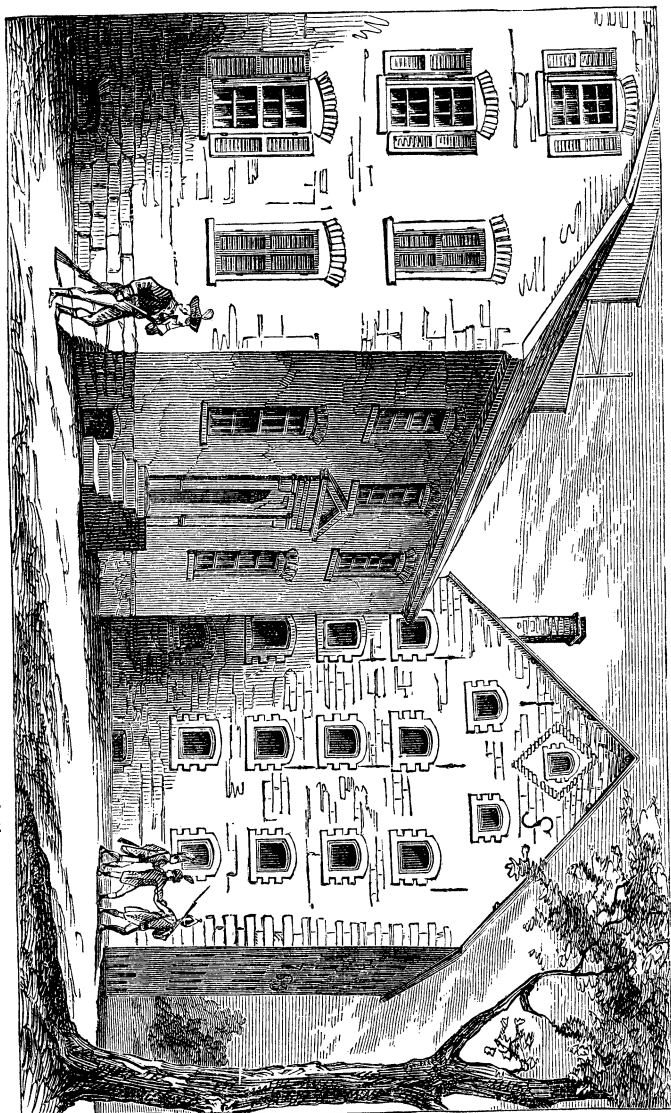


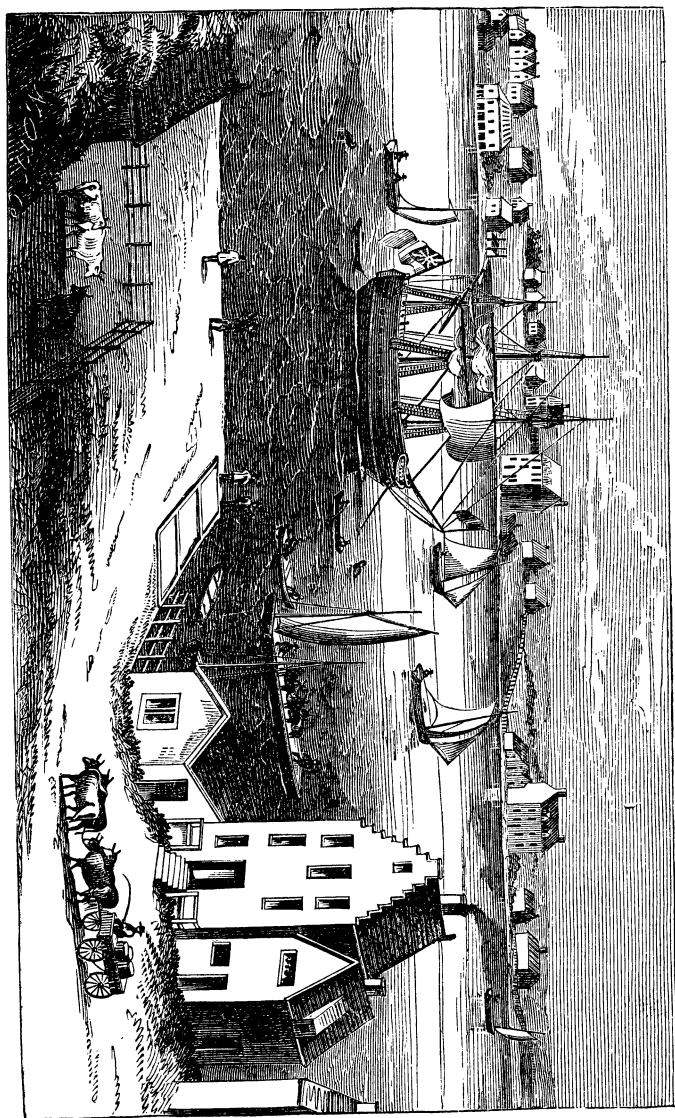
Old Ferry House, Corner of Broad and Garden Streets.

upon the platform of the Whitehall rocks, a little to the east of the Copsey Battery. This was performed with great ceremony, the stone being laid by Governor Cosby, in the midst of great rejoicings. But an untoward event occurred to mar the festivity—a cannon burst in firing a salute, killing John Syms, the high sheriff, Miss Cortlandt, daughter of the councillor, and a son-in-law of Alderman De Riemer. The new works were christened George Augustus' Royal Battery. During the same year, the city watch was increased to ten men and two constables, and additional precautions were taken to prevent fires and to provide for the public safety.

In 1737, Water street, which had received its name the previous year, was extended from Fulton street to Peck slip, a distance of four hundred feet. Trinity church was also enlarged, for the last time, on the north and south sides, making it seventy-two feet in width and a hundred and forty-six feet in length, including the

Rhineclander's Sugar-house, used as a prison during the Revolution.





Old Brooklyn Ferry-house of 1746.

tower and chancel. The spire was one hundred and eighty feet high. In 1739, its churchyard was enlarged, and Rector street was opened to the city.

In 1738, a sort of quarantine was established at Bedlow's Island. The smallpox was raging in South Carolina as it had raged in New York seven or eight years before, and the citizens, alarmed at the danger, entreated that all suspected vessels should anchor at Bedlow's Island nor be suffered to discharge their cargoes until they had first been visited and examined by physicians. This was accordingly done, and the panic soon ceased.

In 1739, Mayor Richard was succeeded by John Cruger, a well-known merchant of the city, who had been engaged in his early youth in the slave-trade, on the coast of Africa ; and afterwards, abandoning this pursuit, had settled in the city as a merchant and entered likewise into public affairs. He continued in the mayoralty for five years. During the first year of his administration, a large market-house was erected in Broadway, opposite Liberty street. Markets were now among the most flourishing institutions of the city, and were under the strict supervision of the municipal authorities, the mayor himself usually officiating as clerk. During this year, William Sharpas, the town-clerk, died, having served the corporation in that capacity for a term of forty-seven years.

The winter of 1740-1 was remembered for many years as "the Hard Winter." The intense cold continued from the middle of November to the close of March. The snow was six feet on a level, the Hudson was frozen

at New York, and great suffering was felt among the poor. But the severity of the season was a trifle in comparison with the cloud of terror and cruelty which was now hovering in the horizon of New York. The evil which the people had so long been cherishing in their midst was now about to recoil upon them with consequences which would long be remembered with horror. The negro plot—that counterpart of the Salem witchcraft—was on the eve of its development; the details we reserve for another chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

1741—1753.

The Negro Plot of 1741.

THE negro plot of the city of New York will long continue to be classed in the foremost rank of popular delusions, even exceeding in its progress and its fearful *dénoûment*, the celebrated Popish Plot concocted by Titus Oates. At this distance, it is difficult to ascertain how many grains of truth were mingled with the mass of prejudice, or to discover the wild schemes which may have sprung up in the brains of the oppressed and excitable negroes, but certain it is that nothing can justify the wholesale panic of a civilized community, or the indiscriminate imprisonment and execution of scores of ignorant beings without friends or counsel, on no other evidence than the incoherencies of a few wretches more degraded than they, supported by the horror of a terror-struck imagination. We shall endeavor to follow the development of this singular plot clearly and simply, leaving the reader to draw his own inference from the facts and to determine how much credence should be given the testimony.

At this time, New York contained about ten thousand inhabitants, nearly one-fifth of whom were negro slaves. Since the first introduction of slavery into the province in the days of Wilhelm Kieft, it had increased and flourished to an alarming extent. Every householder who could afford it was surrounded by negroes, who were contemptuously designated as "the black seed of Cain," and deprived, not only of their liberty, but also of the commonest rights of humanity. We have already adverted to some of the laws established from time to time in respect to these unfortunate beings. These ordinances were of the most stringent character. "All blacks were slaves," says a late historian, "and slaves could not be witnesses against a freeman. They were incapable of buying anything, even the minutest necessary of life; they were punishable by master or mistress to any extent short of life and limb; as often as three of them were found together, they were punished with forty lashes on the bare back; and the same legal liability attended the walking with a club outside the master's grounds without a permit. Two justices might inflict any punishment short of death or amputation for a blow or the smallest assault upon a Christian or a Jew." Such was the spirit of the laws of the times. It had been the constant policy, both of the Dutch and English governments, to encourage the importation of slaves as much as possible; the leading merchants of the city were engaged in the traffic, which was regarded by the public as strictly honorable, and, at the time of which we speak, New York was literally swarming with negroes, and presented all the features of a future Southern

city, with its calaboose on the Commons and its market-place at the foot of Wall street. The people were not blind to the possible danger from this oppressed yet powerful host that was silently gathering in their midst, and the slightest suspicious movement on the part of the negroes was sufficient to excite their distrust and alarm. Since the supposed plot of 1712, of which we have already spoken, a growing fear of the slaves had pervaded the city, and the most stringent measures had been adopted to prevent their assemblages and to keep them under strict surveillance. But it was difficult to restrain the thieving propensities of the negroes; petty thefts were constantly committed, and it was one of these that first paved the way to the real or supposed discovery of a plot to murder the inhabitants and take possession of the city.

On the 14th of March, 1741, some goods and silver were stolen from the house of a merchant named Robert Hogg, on the corner of Broad and Mill or South William streets. The police immediately set to work to discover the thieves, and suspicion having fallen upon John Hughson, the keeper of a low negro tavern on the shores of the North River, his house was searched, but to no effect. Soon after, an indentured servant girl of Hughson's, by the name of Mary Burton, told a neighbor that the goods were really hidden in the house, but that Hughson would kill her if he knew that she had said so. This rumor soon came to the ears of the authorities, who at once arrested Mary Burton and lodged her in the city jail, promising her her freedom if she would confess all that she knew about the matter.

On the 4th of March, the Court met at the City Hall, and John Hughson, his wife, Mary Burton, and an Irish-woman of depraved character, commonly known as Peggy Carey, but whose real name was Margaret Sorubiero, who was also an inmate of Hughson's house, were brought before them. Mary Burton testified that a negro named Cæsar, belonging to John Varick, had left goods and money in the keeping of Peggy, a part of which had been concealed by Hughson. This, Peggy obstinately denied, but Hughson admitted that he had concealed some pieces of linen and silver. Cæsar and another negro named Prince Amboyman were at once arrested and committed to prison, both denying the robbery. Some of the stolen goods were discovered under the kitchen-floor of the house of Cæsar's master, and restored to the owner, and here the matter rested. Not a word was said during the trial of any plot or conspiracy.

Affairs stood in this wise, when, about noon on the 18th of March, the governor's house, in the fort next the King's Chapel,* then occupied by Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, was discovered to be on fire. All efforts to save it were in vain ; it was burned to the ground, together with the chapel, the secretary's office, the stables and the barracks. The conflagration was at the time attributed to the carelessness of a plumber who had left fire in a gutter between the house and the chapel, and it was so reported by the governor to the legislature. A week after, the chimney of Captain Warren's house near the fort took fire, but the flames were soon extinguished with

* The old church in the fort, built by Wilhelm Kieft.

little damage. A few days after, a fire broke out in the storehouse of Mr. Van Zandt, which, at the time, was attributed to the carelessness of a smoker.

Three days after, the hay in a cow-stable near the house of Mr. Quick was discovered to be on fire. The alarm was given and the flames were soon suppressed. While returning to their homes, the people were called by a fifth alarm to the house of Mr. Thompson, where it was said that fire had been placed in a kitchen-loft where a negro usually slept. The next day, coals were discovered under the stables of John Murray in Broadway. The following morning, a fire broke out in the house of Sergeant Burns, opposite the fort ; and a few-hours after, the roof of Mr. Hilton's house, near the Fly Market, was discovered to be on fire. Both were extinguished without much damage, but the rapid recurrence of so many fires alarmed the inhabitants, and a rumor was soon circulated that the negroes had plotted to burn the city. For some days past, the slaves had been objects of suspicion ; this suspicion now ripened into certainty. A short time before, a Spanish vessel, manned in part by blacks, had been brought into port as a prize, and the negroes condemned to be sold as slaves at auction. The exasperated Africans, who had hitherto been freemen, murmured loudly at this harsh usage, and rashly let fall threats which were now recalled as words of ominous import. One of these negroes had been bought by Mr. Sarly, the next neighbor to Mr. Hilton, whose house had been fired. On being questioned about the matter, his answers were deemed evasive, and suspicions were at once excited against himself and his companions. "The

“Spanish negroes! the Spanish negroes! take up the Spanish negroes!” was the general cry; and the unfortunate wretches were at once arrested and thrown into prison, together with Quack, a negro of Mr. Walters, who had been heard to mutter some incoherent words about the fire.

The magistrates met the same afternoon to consult about the matter, and while they were still in session, another fire broke out in the roof of Colonel Philipse’s storehouse. The alarm became universal; the negroes were seized indiscriminately and thrown into prison; among them, many who had just helped to extinguish the fire. People and magistrates were alike panic struck, and the rumor gained general credence, that the negroes had plotted to burn the city, massacre the inhabitants, and effect a general revolution.

On the 11th of April, 1741, the Common Council assembled, and offered a reward of one hundred pounds and a full pardon to any conspirator who would reveal his knowledge of the plot with the names of the incendiaries. Many of the terrified citizens removed with their household goods and valuables from what they began to deem a doomed city, paying exorbitant prices for vehicles and assistance. The city was searched for strangers and suspicious persons, but none were found, and the negroes were examined without effect. Cuff Philipse,* who had been among those arrested, was proved to have been among the most active in extinguishing the fire at his master’s house, yet he was held

* The negroes were familiarly called by the surnames of their masters.

in prison to await further developments, and some things being found in the possession of Robin Chambers and his wife which were judged unbecoming their condition as slaves, they were thrown into prison and the articles delivered to the mayor.

On the 21st of April, 1741, the Supreme Court assembled for the especial purpose of investigating the matter, Judges Philipse and Horsmanden being present. The grand jury was composed of Robert Watts, foreman, Jeremiah Latouche, Joseph Read, Anthony Rutgers, John Cruger, jr., John McEvers, Adonijah Schuyler, Abraham de Peyster, John Merrit, David Provoost, Abraham Ketteltas, Henry Beekman, Rene Hett, David Van Horne, Winant Van Zandt, George Spencer and Thomas Duncan. The proclamation of pardon and reward was read to Mary Burton, who deposed that Cæsar and Prince brought the stolen goods to the house, and that Hughson, his wife and Peggy received them. She said, too, that Cæsar, Prince and Cuff Philipse used frequently to meet at Hughson's, and talk about burning first the fort and then the whole city, and that Hughson and his wife promised to assist them. When this was done, Hughson was to be governor, and Cuff king. Then Cuff used to say that some people had too much and others too little ; that his old master had a great deal now, but that the time was coming when he would have less, and Cuff more ; that they would set fire to the town in the night, and, when the whites came to extinguish it, would kill and destroy them. She swore, moreover, that she had never seen any white person in company when they talked of burning the town, save

her master and mistress with Peggy. All this story of a plot conceived by a poor tavern-keeper and his wife with a few ignorant negroes for the destruction of a city of ten thousand inhabitants was received with eager avidity by the credulous magistrates, and Mary Burton became at once the heroine of the day.

The jury next examined Peggy Carey, promising her pardon and reward if she would make a full confession, but she persistently denied all knowledge of the fires, and said that, if she should accuse any one of any such thing, she must slander innocent persons and blacken her own soul. She was convicted of having received and secreted the stolen goods, and sentenced to death with Prince and Cæsar. The daughter of Hughson with one of his slaves were also committed as being implicated in the conspiracy.

Terrified at the prospect of a speedy death, the wretched Peggy endeavored to avert her fate by grasping the means of rescue which had before been offered her, and begged for a second examination; and, this being granted her, confessed that meetings of negroes had been held in the last December at the house of John Romme, a tavern-keeper near the new Battery, of the same stamp with Hughson, at which she had been present; and that Romme had told them that if they would set fire to the city, massacre the inhabitants and bring the plunder to him, he would carry them to a strange country and give them all their liberty. This confession was so evidently vamped up to save herself from the gallows that even the magistrates hesitated to believe it. Yet Cuff Philipse, Brash Jay, Curaçoa Dick,

Cæsar Pintard, Patrick English, Jack Beasted and Cato Moore, all of whom she had named in her confession, were brought before her and identified as conspirators. Romme absconded, but his wife was arrested and committed to prison ; and the accused were locked up for further examination. Upon this, the terrified negroes began to criminate each other, hoping thereby to save themselves from the fate that awaited them. But these efforts availed them nothing, any more than did the confession of the miserable Peggy, who was executed at last, vainly denying with her dying breath her former confessions. In the meantime, several fires had occurred at Hackensack, and two negroes, suspected of being the incendiaries, were condemned and burnt at the stake, though not a particle of evidence was found against them.

On Monday, the 11th of May, Cæsar and Prince, the first victims of the negro plot, were hung on a gallows erected on the little island in the Fresh Water Pond, denying to the last all knowledge of the conspiracy, though they admitted that they had really stolen the goods.

Hughson and his wife were tried and found guilty, and, with Peggy Carey, were hanged on a gibbet erected on the East River shore, near the corner of Cherry and Catharine streets. Every artifice was used to extract from the prisoners an admission of their guilt, and even to inveigle the daughter of Hughson into criminating her father and mother. Their examination elicited the new fact from Mary Burton that she had seen a negro give Hughson twelve pounds to buy guns,

which he had purchased and secreted under the garret floor of his house. The floor was taken up, but the guns could neither be traced nor found ; yet this failed to shake the belief of the credulous magistrates, who still continued to accept her testimony.

Cuff Philipse and Quack were next brought to trial, a negro boy named Sawney appearing as witness against them. This boy was at first arrested and brought before the magistrates, when he denied all knowledge of the conspiracy. He was told in reply that if he would tell the truth, he would not be hanged. To tell the truth had now come to be generally understood to mean the confession of a plot for burning the town. Urged on by his fears, he acted on the hint, and said that Quack had tried to persuade him to set the fort on fire ; and that Cuff had said that he would set fire to one house, Curaçoa Dick to another, and so on. A negro named Fortune was arrested and examined, who testified that Quack had told him that Sawney had confessed to him that it was he who had set fire to the governor's house. The next day, Sawney was called up and again examined, when he confessed that he had been frightened into a promise to burn the Slip market, that he had seen some of the houses fired by the negroes, and that he and the rest had been sworn to secrecy. On these accusations, the negroes were tried for their lives ; all the lawyers in the city being arrayed on the side of the prosecution. Bradley was still attorney-general ; and Murray, Alexander, Smith, Chambers, Nichols, Lodge and Jameson made up the balance of the New York attorneys. These voluntarily offered to attend the trials

by turns ; leaving the negroes as destitute of counsel as they were of friends. Ignorant of the forms of law, and terrified at the prospect of their impending danger, it is not strange that their bewildered and contradictory statements were construed by their learned adversaries into evidences of their guilt. Quack and Cuffee were found guilty, and sentenced to be burned at the stake on the 30th of May.

On the day appointed, the fagots were piled in a grassy valley in the neighborhood of the present Five Points, and the wretched victims led out to execution. The spot was thronged with impatient spectators, eager to witness the terrible tragedy. Terrified and trembling, the poor wretches gladly availed themselves of their last chance for life, and, on being questioned by their masters, confessed that the plot had originated with Hughson, that Quack's wife was the person who had set fire to the fort, he having been chosen for the task by the confederated negroes, and that Mary Burton had spoken the truth and could name many more conspirators if she pleased. As a reward, they were reprieved until the further pleasure of the governor should be known. But the impatient populace, which had come out for a spectacle, would not so easily be balked of its prey. Ominous mutterings resounded round the pile with threats of evil import, and the sheriff was ordered to proceed with his duty. Terrified by these menaces, he dared not attempt to take the prisoners back to the jail ; and the execution went on. Despite their forced confessions, the terrible pile was lighted, and the wretched negroes perished in the flames, knowing that,

with their last breath, they had doomed their fellows to share their fate in vain.

On the 6th of June, seven other negroes, named Jack, Cook, Robin, Cæsar, Cuffee, Cuffee and Jamaica, were tried and found guilty on the dying evidence of Quack and Cuffee, with the stories of Mary Burton and the negro boy, Sawney. All were executed the next day with the exception of Jack, who saved his life by promising further disclosures. These disclosures implicated fourteen others, one of whom, to save his life, confessed and accused still more.

On the 11th of June, Francis, one of the Spanish negroes, Albany, and Curaçoa Dick were sentenced to be burned at the stake. Ben and Quack were condemned to the same fate five days after. Three others were at the same time sentenced to be hanged, and five of the Spanish negroes were also convicted.

On the 19th of June, the governor issued a proclamation of pardon to all who would confess and reveal the names of their accomplices before the ensuing 1st of July. Upon this, the accusations multiplied rapidly. Mary Burton, who had at first denied that any white man save Hughson had been implicated in the plot, now suddenly remembered that John Ury, a reputed Catholic priest and a schoolmaster in the city, had also been concerned in it. His religion was proof presumptive of his guilt in the minds of the populace, and he was at once arrested and indicted, first, on the charge of having counselled Quack to set fire to the governor's house in the fort; secondly, that, being a Catholic priest, he had come into the province and remained there seven

months, contrary to a law passed in the eleventh year of the reign of William III., condemning every Popish priest and Jesuit to death who should henceforth be found within the limits of the province. The evidence received against this unhappy man can only find its parallel in the annals of the Salem witchcraft. The tide of popular prejudice against the negroes was turned into a new channel, and the rumor of a Popish plot added fresh zest to the spirit of persecution. Ury was accused of being an emissary of the Jesuits, deputed to stir up the negroes to an insurrection. Sarah Hughson, who had been coaxed and threatened into becoming the tool of her parents' executioners, and had been pardoned from a sentence of death in order that she might give evidence against Ury, deposed that she had seen him make a ring with chalk upon the floor of her father's house, and, ranging all the negroes present around it, stand in the middle with a cross in his hand and swear them to secrecy; and that she had seen him baptize them and forgive them their sins. This story was confirmed by the testimony of Mary Burton; and William Kane, a soldier belonging to the fort, deposed that Ury had endeavored to convert him to the Catholic faith. A confectioner by the name of Elias Desbrosses testified that Ury had at one time inquired of him for wafers. It was also proved that he could read Latin, and that a joiner, the father of one of his pupils, had made a desk for him, which the active imagination of his judges construed into an altar. It was in vain for him to declare that he was a non-juring clergyman of the Church of England, to prove by reliable witnesses that he had

never associated with the negroes, and to disclaim all knowledge of Hughson and his family ; his judges had determined on his sentence in advance, and he was condemned to be hanged on the 29th of August.

The arrest of Ury was the signal for the implication of others of the whites. It was a true foreshadowing of the Reign of Terror. Every one feared his neighbor, and hastened to be the first to accuse, lest he himself should be accused and thrown into prison. Fresh victims were daily seized, and those with whom the jails were already full to overflowing were transported or hanged with scarcely the form of a trial in order to make room for the new comers. So rapid was the increase that the judges feared that the numbers might breed an infection, and devised short methods of ridding themselves of the prisoners, sometimes by pardoning, but as often by hanging them. From the 11th of May to the 29th of August, one hundred and fifty-four negroes were committed to prison, fourteen of whom were burnt at the stake, eighteen hanged, seventy-one transported and the rest pardoned or discharged for the want of sufficient evidence. In the same time, twenty-four whites were committed to prison, four of whom were executed.

The tragedy would probably have continued much longer, had not Mary Burton, grown bolder by success, began to implicate persons of consequence. This at once aroused the fears of the influential citizens, who had been the foremost when only the negroes were in question, and put a stop to all further proceedings. The fearful catalogue of victims closed on the 29th of August with the execution of John Ury. The 24th of

September was set apart as a day of general thanksgiving for the escape of the citizens from destruction; Mary Burton received the hundred pounds that had been promised her as the price of blood, and the city fell back into a feeling of security. Whether this plot ever had the shadow of an existence except in the disordered imaginations of the citizens can never with certainty be known. Daniel Horsmanden, at that time recorder, and one of the judges of the Supreme Court, attempts in a history of the conspiracy to demonstrate its existence and to justify the acts of the judges in the matter. But the witnesses were persons of the vilest character, the evidence was contradictory, inconsistent, and extorted under the fear of death, and no real testimony was adduced that could satisfy any man in the possession of a clear head and a sound judgment. Terror was really the strongest evidence, and the fear of the Jesuits the conclusive proof. The law passed in 1700 for hanging every Catholic priest who voluntarily came within the province still disgraced the statute-book, while the feeling of intolerance which had prompted it remained as bitter and unyielding as ever.

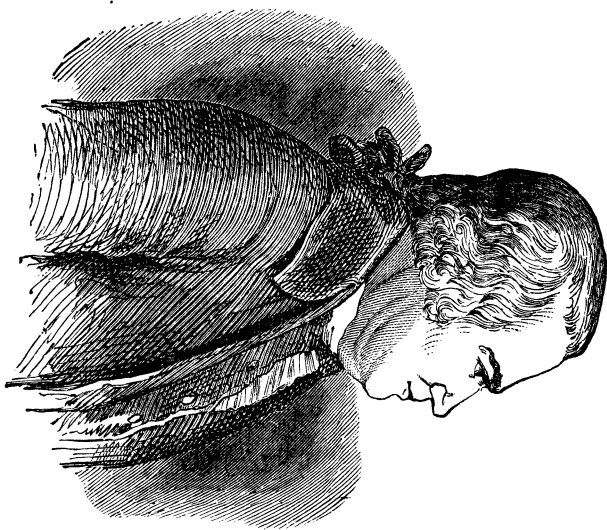
The French church in Pine street was rebuilt during this year. The following year was marked by the breaking out of a malignant epidemic, strongly resembling the yellow fever in type, which carried off over two hundred persons. This was the second disease of the kind that had appeared in the city.

In 1743, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke was superseded by Admiral George Clinton, a younger son of the Earl of Lincoln. and the father of the Sir Henry Clinton who

afterwards figured so conspicuously in the city during the Revolution. Clinton arrived at New York on the 22d of September, with his wife and family, and published his commission on the same day at the City Hall. He was received by the corporation with the usual congratulatory address and the freedom of the city in a gold box, made by Charles Le Roux, the city goldsmith, at a cost of twenty pounds. Clinton was of an easy and indolent temperament, anxious above all to improve his fortunes, and not averse to popularity. On his arrival, he at once took Chief-Justice De Lancey into his confidence, and, under his guidance, for some time, things went on smoothly. The Assembly voted him a liberal revenue for the first year, while he, in turn, assented to all the bills presented to him; among which was one limiting the existence of this and all future Assemblies to a period of seven years. The third intercolonial war breaking out at the same time, the Assembly voted money to aid in carrying it on, and new expeditions were organized for the conquest of Canada. It was not long before Clinton became estranged from his first friend, De Lancey, and formed an alliance with Cadwallader Colden instead. This was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. Heading the opposition party, the late favorite, who was allied either by blood or friendship to most of the leading men of the province, stirred up a fierce contest between the governor and the Assembly, which harassed the remainder of his administration and finally compelled him to withdraw from the province.

In 1744, Stephen Bayard, a descendant of Nicholas Bayard of Leislerian memory, was appointed mayor.

Portrait of Sir George Clinton.



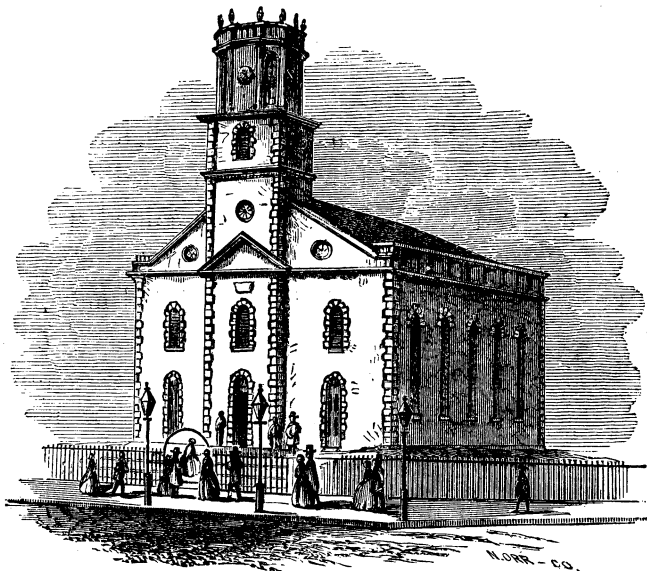
Portrait of Lady Clinton.



During the first year of his administration, steps were taken towards founding a college in the city. It was time, indeed, for, engaged in commercial and political affairs, the citizens had neglected the interests of education. The few collegians in the province had been educated in England or at the eastern colleges ; while most of the youth went directly from the grammar-school to the counting-room. Smith and De Lancey were the only collegians on the bench or at the bar ; and there were but few to be found elsewhere. To remedy this remissness, it was resolved to raise £2,250 by lottery—the usual means of effecting such an object—for the foundation of a college. The enterprise was at once commenced, though it was not until ten years after that the money was raised, and the corner-stone of King's, afterwards Columbia College laid by the governor. The management of the proposed institution soon became a subject of contention between the Episcopalian and Presbyterian parties, now the two great factions of the day, the former of which was headed by James De Lancey, and the latter by Philip Livingston. In this, the Episcopalians gained the mastery, and the college long remained under the control of that denomination.

In 1747, Edward Holland was appointed mayor. He continued in the mayoralty until his death in 1756. In the first year of his administration, the Presbyterian church in Wall street, which had been erected during the administration of Hunter, was rebuilt. During the same year, the Common Council ordered fifty copies of "An Essay on the Duties of Vestrymen" to be published at their expense at a cost of four pounds in order to

encourage works of this kind—one of the first cases of this sort on record. In the course of the next two years, Beekman and the contiguous streets were regulated, Ferry street was ceded to the city, Beekman, Dey and Thames streets were paved, Pearl street was dug down near Peck Slip and regulated from Franklin Square to Chatham street, and John street was paved and regulated. In 1751, a Moravian chapel was built in Fulton street. The following year, the first Merchant's Exchange was erected at the foot of Broad street, and St. George's chapel was built by Trinity Church on the corner of Cliff and Beekman streets, and was consecrated on the 1st of July by the Rev. Mr. Barclay. This still remains in good preservation, and is well known to the down-town residents as one of the few



St. George's Chapel in Beekman street, erected in 1752.

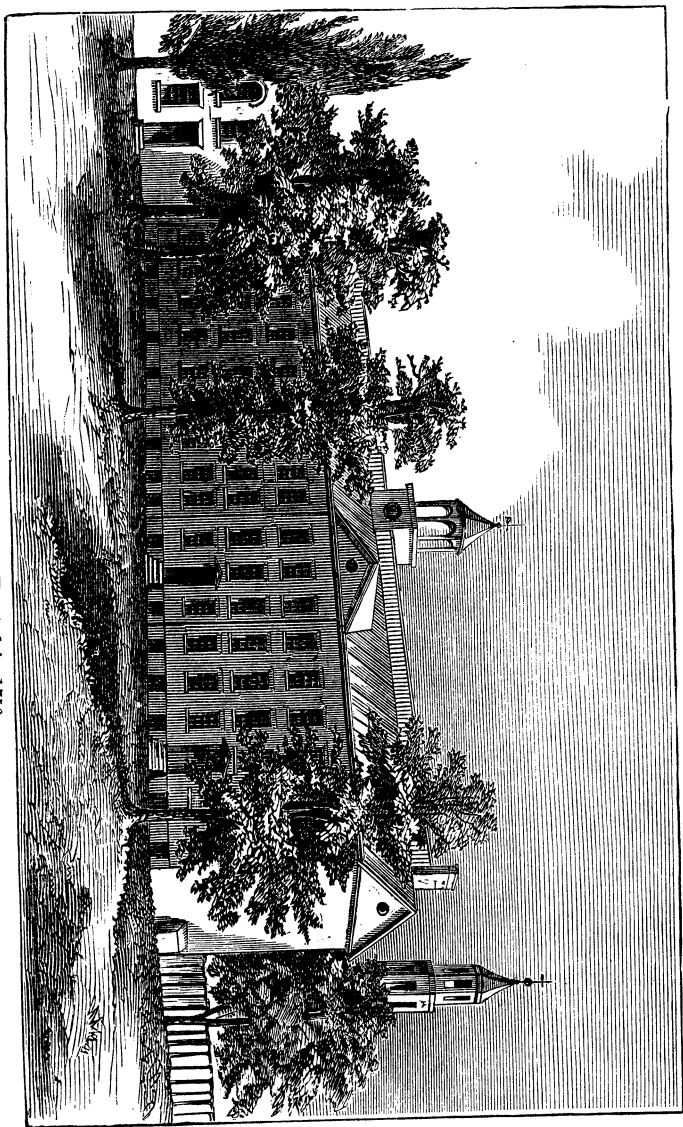
landmarks of the olden time. A few years since, its centenary celebration took place, and the old church was thronged by a crowd of worshippers, kneeling for one moment at the shrine of antiquity. This is, next to the Post Office, the oldest church edifice now standing in the city, and its quaint old chandeliers and aisles flagged with grey stone still remain as relics of the days of yore. It was partially destroyed by fire in 1814, but was soon after repaired and opened again for service. Washington was a frequent attendant of this church during his residence in the city in the early part of the Revolution.

In 1748, Clinton revived the scheme of making the governors independent of the Assembly by means of a permanent revenue, and urged the latter to favor his designs by granting him a five years' appropriation, threatening them with the vengeance of the king in case of refusal. They did refuse it, nevertheless, and all the persuasions and menaces of the governor, backed by the royal authority, failed to move them from the stand which they had taken. Another incident occurred about the same time which widened the breach between the people and the royal governors, and prepared them for a final separation. All colonial vessels were at this time required to lower their flags in token of respect when passing his majesty's ships of war. A captain by the name of Ricketts, on returning one night with his wife and family from New York to Elizabethtown, inadvertently neglected this token of homage when passing the Greyhound, which lay anchored in the harbor. The captain of the latter immediately fired a shot, of which the party in the boat took no notice, not dreaming that they

were concerned in the matter. The shot was immediately followed by another, which struck the nurse, killing her instantly. The news of this outrage aroused the citizens; the captain was instantly arrested and brought to shore, and the governor petitioned to bring him to trial; but Clinton coolly disclaimed all jurisdiction in the matter, saying that his commission gave him no power over any of the ships of war, and that the offender could only be proceeded against in England. The people were exasperated almost to madness; but there was no redress; they were forced to be silent.

In the meantime, the conduct of Clinton had alienated Colden, who had gone over to the party of the opposition, and Smith, Alexander and Johnson alone remained as his chief supporters. Under the leadership of De Lancey, the Assembly grew more and more refractory, and, after repeated efforts to obtain his demands, growing weary of the contest, the governor at length prorogued them. Finding that his power in the province was gone, and worn with the struggle against a powerful opposition, Clinton at last dispatched his resignation to England, and Sir Danvers Osborne was appointed in his stead.

The new governor arrived on the 7th of September, 1753, charged with instructions to maintain the royal prerogative, and to demand of the Assembly a permanent revenue to be disbursed by the governor alone, with the advice and consent of his council. Three days after, he took the oaths of office, and published his commission at the City Hall. The people welcomed him with shouts and huzzas, mingled with deep invectives against



Kirr's College. Erected in 1756.

Clinton, who walked by his side. This expression of feeling wounded him deeply. "I expect the same treatment before I leave the province," said he. On his return to the council chamber, the corporation met him with a bold address, expressing their hope that he would be as averse to countenancing as they should be to brooking any infringement upon their civil or religious liberties. A splendid entertainment, however, was given by the city in honor of the new governor; bells were rung, cannon fired, and the whole town illuminated; yet it was whispered that this was due more to the appointment of De Lancey—now the idol of the people—as lieutenant-governor, than to the accession of Sir Danvers Osborne.

On the morning of the 12th, the new governor convened the council and laid his instructions before them. "The Assembly will never yield obedience," said they. "Is this true?" said he, turning to William Smith, who stood by his side. "Most emphatically so," answered the chief-justice in reply. "Then what am I come here for!" exclaimed he, gloomily, bowing his head on the window-sill and covering his face with his hands.

The next morning the whole city was in commotion. The body of Sir Danvers Osborne had been found suspended by a handkerchief from the garden-wall of John Murray's house in Broadway, where he had lodged since his arrival in the city. The unfortunate man had been deranged and had even attempted his life before his departure from England. The loss of a beloved wife had unsettled his reason, and his friends, hoping to work a cure by constant occupation and a change of scene, had procured him this post and sent him to New York

to assume the government. But the fractiousness of the people over whom he had been sent to rule had proved too much for his enfeebled brain, and, seeing the impossibility of enforcing his instructions without becoming as odious as his predecessor, he had retired to his chamber after his stormy interview with the council, burned his papers, set his affairs in order, and deliberately put an end to his life. His remains were buried in Trinity church, the obsequies being performed with some reluctance by the rector, who protested that the burial service was forbidden by the rubric to those who had died by their own hands. This objection, however, was overruled by the council, who declared that insanity was equivalent to disease, and that the governor had as much right to Christian burial as though he had died of a fever; and the body of the unfortunate Sir Danvers Osborne was at last permitted to repose in consecrated ground. The government devolved upon James De Lancey, now grown a favorite with a large portion of the people.

CHAPTER XIII.

1753—1763.

New York Previous to the Revolution.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR JAMES DE LANCEY now assumed the direction of affairs. His accession was hailed with delight by the people, to whom he had endeared himself by heading the party opposed to the “permanent revenue” scheme of the royal governors. Strangely enough, the parties had changed sides. The ex-royalist faction—aristocratic, as it was satirically termed by its opponents—comprising most of the wealthy and influential citizens, De Lancey, Van Rensselaer, Colden, Philipse, Heathcote, and many more, was now openly ranged on the side of the popular rights, while Smith, Livingston and Alexander, once the leaders of the people, had gone over to the other side, and had been foremost in the councils of the late governor. Under these circumstances, De Lancey found himself in an embarrassing position. The royal instructions bequeathed to him by Sir Danvers Osborne directed him to insist on a permanent revenue and absolutely to refuse to sign all annual

appropriations, while he was pledged as the leader of the popular party to a policy diametrically opposed to this proceeding. He extricated himself from this difficulty with seeming inconsistency, but wisely in truth ; while, on one hand, he fulfilled his oaths of office by urging the Assembly to conform to the royal instructions, on the other, he pressed the claims of the people upon the notice of the home government, and was eventually instrumental in obtaining the desired concession.

After a series of bloody campaigns, in which the chief advantage on the side of the English had been the brilliant conquest of Louisburg, the third intercolonial war had been terminated in 1748 by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which, much to the discontent of the colonists, restored to France all the newly-acquired territory. But this peace was of short duration. The Canadians soon recommenced their aggressions upon the frontier settlements, and on the 19th of June, 1754, a congress of deputies from the several provinces met at Albany to concert measures for the common safety. Over this assembly, De Lancey presided. The alliance with the Iroquois was strengthened by presents and speeches, and plans were projected for mutual defence. The chief feature of this congress was, however, a plan for the union of the colonies, which was drawn up and presented by Benjamin Franklin. This proposal, though opposed by De Lancey, was adopted by the convention. It was not, however, adapted to the times ; the people opposed it as giving too much power to the king, and the king, as giving too much liberty to the people ; thus, pleasing neither, it was never carried into effect ; yet it sug-

gested the idea of a confederated power which finally matured into the Federal Union.

On the 31st of October, 1754, De Lancey signed and sealed the charter of the projected college, though, owing to internal dissensions in the management, it was not delivered until the following May. Doctor Johnson, the Episcopal minister at Stratford, Connecticut, had already been invited to fill the president's chair of the institution, and Mr. Whittlesey, the Presbyterian minister at New Haven, was chosen as vice-president. By the provisions of the charter, however, none but Episcopalians were made eligible as presidents—a regulation which occasioned much ill-feeling among the dissenters. The Presbyterians, headed by the Livingstons, used every effort to break down the college, and the city journals joined in the controversy. These had somewhat changed in character since the Zenger trial. William Bradford had died in the city in 1752, at an advanced age, and the *Weekly Journal* of Zenger had been discontinued in the same year. In January, 1743, James Parker, an apprentice of Bradford, had commenced a new weekly called the *New York Gazette or Weekly Postboy*, and this speculation proving successful, had published a monthly styled the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, in October of the same year. The *Weekly Mercury*, the government organ, was published by Hugh Gaine at his office opposite the Old Slip Market. These falling into the hands of the Episcopalian party, the Presbyterians established a new journal in 1753, called the *Independent Reflector*, in which their side of the college controversy was fully argued. The Episcopalians, however, pre-

vailed, thanks to the influence of their leader, De Lancey, and long retained control of the institution. The disputes were preparatory to the founding of the college ; the corner-stone of the building being laid in 1756 by the new governor, Sir Charles Hardy.

In April, 1754, a scheme for the foundation of a public library was first projected, and a considerable amount being soon raised by subscription, trustees were appointed for the ensuing year. These trustees were James De Lancey, James Alexander, John Chambers, John Watts, William Walton, Rev. Henry Barclay, Benjamin Nicolls, Robert R. Livingston, William Livingston, William P. Smith, and Mr. Williams. The following autumn, the first books arrived, and were deposited in the City Hall with those belonging to the Corporation Library. The further progress of this first City Library—the embryo of the present Society Library—we have sketched elsewhere.

In 1754, the “Walton House,” at that time the palace of the city, was built in Pearl street by William Walton, a merchant and son-in-law of De Lancey, who had amassed a fortune by successful ventures in foreign trade. This house was elegantly fitted up in the fashion of the times, and furnished luxuriously ; and the fame of its splendor extended to England, and was quoted there as a proof of the mad extravagance of the colonists, and their ability to support unlimited taxation. The house was built of yellow Holland brick, with five windows in front, and a tiled roof, encircled with balustrades. The garden extended down to the river. At a later date, it was the scene of the marriage of Citizen Genet, the Minister of France, to the daughter of Governor Clin-

ton. It still stands, stripped of its primitive splendor, the lower story transformed into warehouses, and the upper part into an emigrant boarding-house. In the

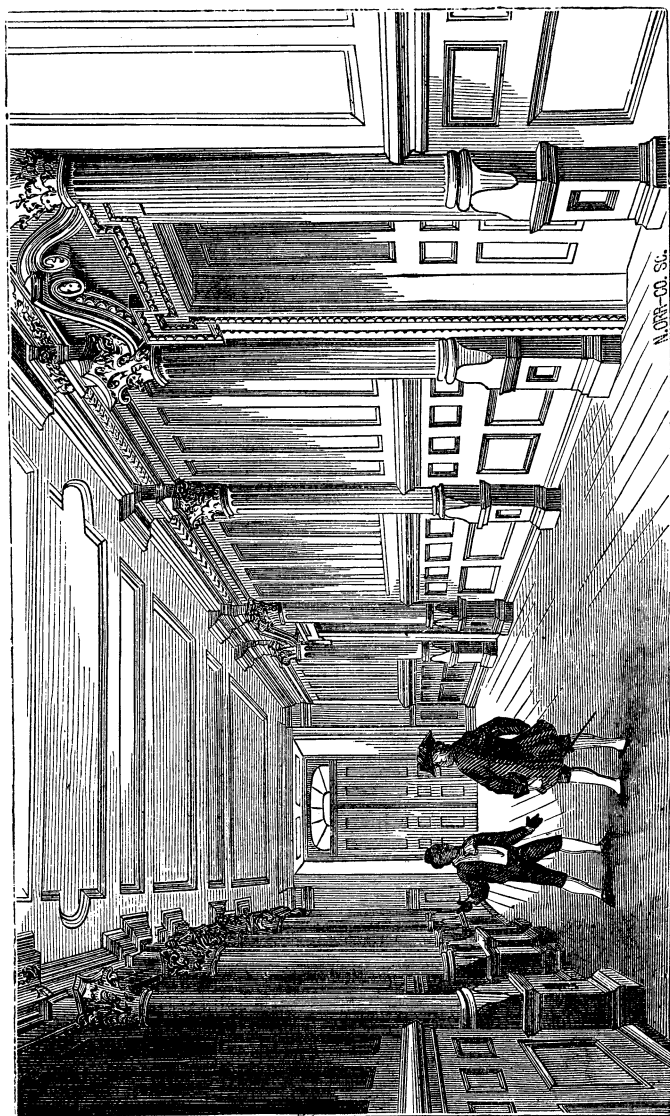


The Walton House, in 1867.

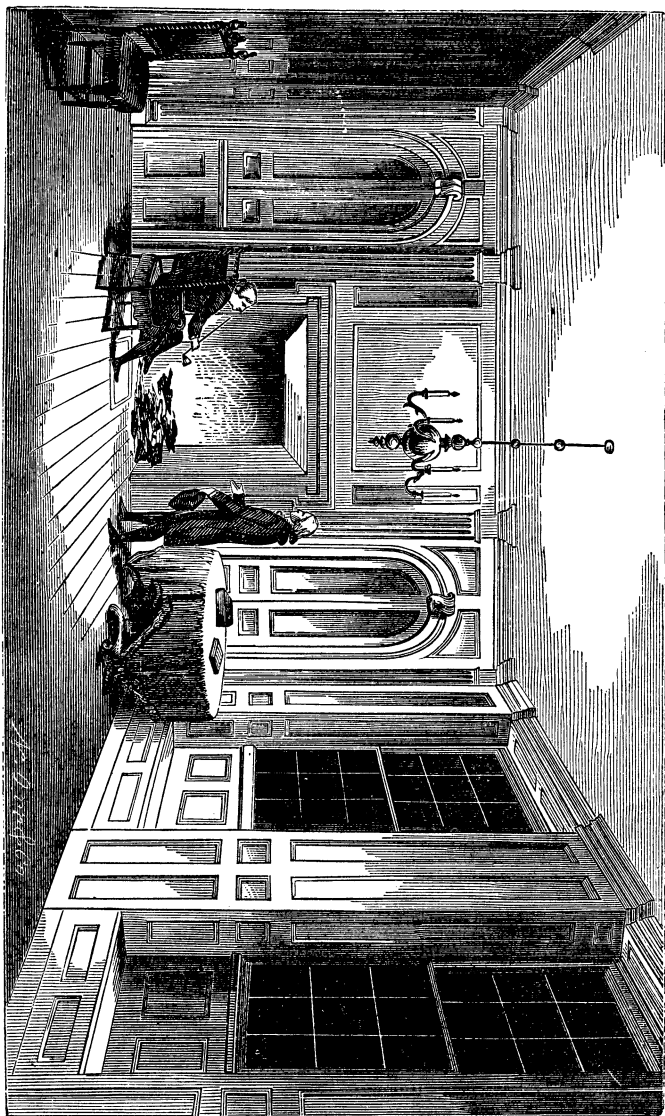
following year, a ferry was first established between New York and Staten Island, which now possessed a considerable population. During the same year, Peck Slip was opened and paved.

War having again been declared between England and France, the fortifications were strengthened, volunteers enlisted, and a thousand stand of arms ordered for the defence of the city in the event of an invasion. On the 2d of September, Sir Charles Hardy, the newly-appointed governor, arrived in the city, and was proclaimed the next day at the City Hall with the usual ceremonies. Hardy was a sailor, an admiral in the English navy, and knew far better how to steer a ship than to guide the affairs of a turbulent province. Fortunately, he was conscious of this fact himself, and frankly expressed it with sailor-like bluntness. "Gentlemen," said he to a group of the New York lawyers, "I can't pretend to say that I understand the law. My knowledge relates to the sea—that is my sphere. If you want to know when the wind and tide suit for going down to Sandy Hook, I can tell you that." Such is the confession of incapacity which Chief-Justice Smith attributes to the royal governor. But a knowledge of the science of government was deemed altogether superfluous in these officials by the English Court; and even Pitt, the so-called friend of America, afterwards said in Parliament, "There is not a company of foot that has served in America out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor nor of a colony there." Such was the estimation in which the intellect of the colonial subjects was held by the mother country.

Sir Charles Hardy having assumed the nominal direction of affairs, De Lancey resumed his seat as chief-justice; but, wisely recognizing his own incapacity, Hardy



Entrance Hall of the Walton House in olden times.



Sitting Room of the Walton House in olden times.

left him in actual command of the province, and enacted the part of a lay figure in the government. This insipid mode of life soon wearied the active sailor, and he entreated to be restored to his former command. After some delay, his request was granted ; the post of rear-admiral was conferred upon him, and he sailed from New York for the capture of Louisburg, leaving the government again in the hands of De Lancey.

In the first year of Hardy's administration, the city had been deprived of its chief magistrate by death, and John Cruger, the son of the former mayor of that name, had been appointed to fill his place. It was not long before he became involved in difficulty with the royal officials. At this time, the French and Indian war was raging in the province, and Lord Loudon, the commander-in-chief of the American forces, sent a thousand of his troops to New York with directions to the city authorities to find quarters for them among the inhabitants. This order they regarded as an infraction of their rights, and quartering the soldiers in the barracks in Chambers street, they left the officers to take care of themselves. The incensed general hastened to New York, and ordered them at once to find free quarters for his officers, saying that such was both the law and the custom, and that, if they did not instantly comply, he would bring thither all the troops in North America and billet them himself upon the inhabitants. This outrageous demand, though opposed by De Lancey, was supported by the governor. The indignant citizens refused to obey, the corporation neither dared nor wished to enforce them, and the matter was finally settled by providing for the officers by private

subscription. But the demand once made, was repeatedly renewed, and was one of the chief grievances that urged the people on to the struggle for independence.

The war, meanwhile, went on with unabated vigor, and large bodies of militia marched from New York to aid in the defence of the English forts and the conquest of Canada. Spurred on by the inhuman massacre of Fort William Henry, the colonists spared neither blood nor treasure in avenging their murdered countrymen. Louisburg, Frontenac, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Niagara and Quebec fell successively into their hands, and the capture of Montreal in 1760 finally concluded a disastrous war and secured to England the conquest of Canada.

In the meantime, the province had again been left without a ruler. On the morning of the 30th of July, 1760, Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey was found by one of his children expiring in his study.* He had dined the day before at Staten Island with a company of friends, then had crossed the bay in the evening, and rode out to his country-seat, where he had retired to his library to repose in his arm-chair, as he was often forced to do from a chronic asthma. His remains were escorted the next day by a large concourse of citizens from his house on the east side of the Bowery, a little above Grand street, to Trinity Church, where he was interred in the middle aisle, the funeral services being performed by the Rev. Henry Barclay. Mr. De Lancey was a statesman of marked ability, and his persistent support of the

* He was the great grandfather of Bishop DeLancey of New York.

system of annual appropriations—finally conceded during the administration of Hardy—won for him a deserved popularity.

The government now devolved upon Cadwallader Colden, the former protégé of Hunter, at this time seventy-three years of age. The new governor had long been actively engaged in public affairs, and was known to possess literary and political talent of no common order. But he assumed the reins of government at a critical period, and wrecked his popularity by taking oaths which compelled him to sacrifice the rights of his countrymen upon the shrine of official duty.

Soon after his accession, an affair occurred which tended to increase the feeling of bitterness which was rapidly springing up in the hearts of the colonists against the mother country. The system of impressment was now in vogue, and the captains of the British men-of-war claimed the right to board colonial vessels and take thence the men required to complete their quota ; or failing in this, to land and kidnap citizens to serve in the British navy. These outrages excited the indignation of the citizens almost beyond forbearance ; but such were the laws ; there was no alternative but to obey. In the August following the death of De Lancey, a merchant vessel arrived from Lisbon, and a man-of-war lying in the harbor immediately sent a boat on board to demand some of her men. On seeing the movements of the English sailors, the crew seized the captain and officers and confined them below, and, taking possession of the ship, refused to suffer the intruders to come on board. The captain called to them from the cabin win-

dow that he and his officers were prisoners, and therefore unable to obey; but, without heeding his position, they at once opened a fire upon the offending merchantman, killing one man and wounding several others. The affair caused much excitement, yet it was but a sample of the constantly recurring outrages perpetrated upon the colonial traders.

In October of the same year, General Amherst, the conqueror of Canada, visited the city and was received with enthusiasm. A public entertainment was given in his honor, the freedom of the city in a gold box was presented to him by the corporation, and an address, couched in the most flattering terms, was tendered him in behalf of the citizens. Salutes were fired, colors were displayed, and the whole city was illuminated in honor of the successful termination of the long-continued conflict which, for so many years, had drained the energies of the harassed colonies.

Early in the following year, news reached the province of the death of George II., and the consequent accession of George III. to the throne of England. The city was hung in mourning, and funeral sermons preached in all the churches for the departed ; then, one week after, salutes were fired and illuminations made in honor of his successor.

The winter proved one of intense severity. The Narrows were frozen over, and men and horses crossed on the ice. When spring opened, the work of public improvement went on, and streets were regulated and paved, wells dug, and other improvements made for the benefit of the city. Fulton, then Partition street, was

one of these ; and though it had long had a partial existence, it was now for the first time graded and paved, and classed among the legitimate streets of the city. A theatre was also opened in Beekman street under the auspices of Colden, but the Assembly frowned on this as detrimental to good morals, and the mayor attempted to obtain the passage of a law prohibiting all dramatic performances within the precincts of the city. Failing in this, the corporation turned their attention to the amusement of raffling, which had grown quite common among the boys and negroes, and interdicted it with all similar games of chance, under penalty of a fine of three pounds, half to be paid to the churchwardens and half to the informer. A variety of municipal ordinances, regulating weights and measures, markets and docks were also passed, indicative of the constantly increasing prosperity of the city.

In October, 1761, a governor's commission arrived from England for General Robert Monckton, who was then commanding the forces on Staten Island. Monckton was a careless young soldier, devoted to his profession, and somewhat profligate withal, but his appointment was not distasteful to the people, many of whom were enemies to Colden. On the 26th, he published his commission at the City Hall, declaring that, as for instructions, he had none, and hoped never to have any ; an announcement especially pleasing to the citizens, to whom the word was a signal for rebellion. On the 30th, the usual freedom of the city, with the accompanying gold box, was presented to the governor by the corporation, and graciously received. The new Assembly, who

detested Colden, gave Monckton a warm reception, and his administration opened auspiciously.

Affairs now seemed to be gliding on smoothly and everything promised peace and prosperity. After a long and tiresome contest, the English government had conceded to the colonies many of the representative rights which they demanded, the permanent revenue was no longer insisted on, the citizens were permitted for the most part to tax themselves, and the province was steadily growing in importance. The main aggressions still continued, for the governors disclaimed all jurisdiction over the waters, and the naval officers were petty sovereigns in their own right, forcing all colonial vessels to lower their flags in token of homage, boarding them and impressing their men, and firing on them at the slightest provocation. But the citizens had faith in the future redressal of all these grievances; despite their mutinous demonstrations, their loyalty still remained unshaken, and a separation from the mother-country was a treason of which even the boldest had not dared to dream. The rights of English subjects—the same which were enjoyed by their fellow-countrymen on the other side of the water under a limited monarchy—were all that they claimed, and had these been judiciously conceded, England might long have continued to wear America as the brightest jewel in her crown. The city had increased to some fourteen thousand inhabitants, its streets were constantly encroaching on the waste land, public edifices were springing up here and there, and the spirit of commercial enterprise was fast gaining ground, despite the harsh restrictions imposed upon colonial

commerce by the arbitrary Board of Trade. Grievances enough were still existing, yet the political horizon was calmer than it had been for many years. It was a deceitful calm; the thunders of the coming tempest were gathering in the distance, and preparing to burst with blighting force upon the doomed city.

Not many days after his accession, Monckton received orders to repair with his forces to the Island of Martinique; and he accordingly set sail on the 15th of November, leaving Colden again in command at New York. The expedition proved successful, the island was captured with scarce a show of resistance, and Monckton soon returned to his government.

During this year, the old plan of lighting the streets by lanterns suspended from the windows was definitely abandoned, and public lamps and lamp-posts were erected in the principal streets which were lighted at the public expense. Laws were passed, regulating the prices of provisions, some of which are worthy of being quoted as affording an idea of the standard of the times. Beef was sold at fourpence-halfpenny per pound; pork, at fivepence-halfpenny; veal, from fourpence-halfpenny to sixpence; butter at fifteen pence per pound, and milk at six coppers per quart. An assize of bread had been established from the earliest times, varying every two or three months in proportion to the rise or fall of flour; at this time a loaf of one pound twelve ounces sold for four coppers.

In 1763, Dr. Johnson, the first president of King's College, tendered his resignation, and Dr. Cooper was chosen in his stead. Soon after, a bequest of twelve

hundred volumes was made to the institution by Dr. Bristow of England, which, added to a collection which had been bequeathed to it in 1757 by Joseph Murray, formed the foundation for a substantial library. The graduates at this year's commencement were Messrs. Cuyler, Depeyster, Livingston, Hoffman, Wilkins, Bayard, Verplanck, Marston, and Watts ; all names which have grown old in the history of the city. In the May commencement of the following year, held at St. George's Chapel, John Jay, then a youth of nineteen, won his maiden honors, and first became a candidate for the public favor in a dissertation on the blessings of peace—a theme prophetic of his future career.

In the following month, Sandy Hook lighthouse was lighted for the first time. About the same time, a ferry was established between Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, and Miesier's Dock, just opposite on the New York shore ; a convenience which had long been needed, and which proved a great accommodation to the people of New Jersey. Another ferry was also established between Staten Island and Bergen. Considerable improvement, indeed, had been made in travelling arrangements ; a mail went regularly twice a week from New York to Philadelphia, and packet-boats and stages plied between the same places, making the journey in the space of three days. These packet-boats run from the Battery to Perth Amboy, where a stage-wagon received the goods and passengers and conveyed them to Burlington. Here they were again transferred to a packet-boat, and thus at length reached the place of their destination. The journey was also frequently performed

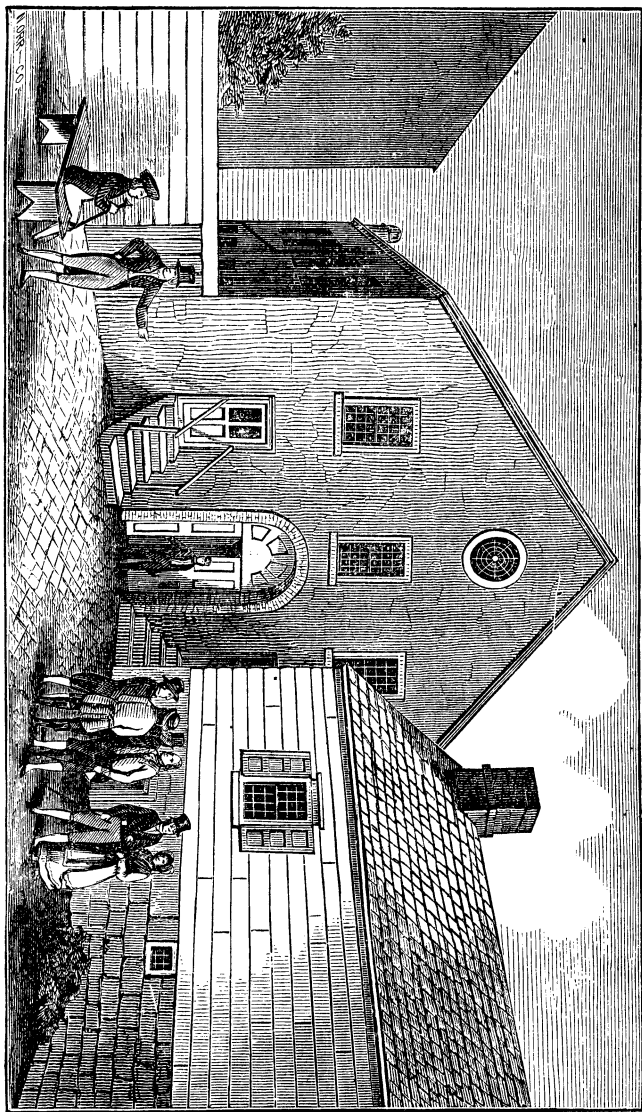
by crossing the bay in a scow to Staten Island, and thence to the Jersey shore, then taking the inland route across the intermediate rivers to the Quaker City. Another route was now established by the way of Paulus Hook, whence travellers made their way over the Jersey marshes to the Hackensack River, and blowing a horn, which hung against a tree, summoned a ferryman to carry them across the stream ; then, journeying in short stages to the Passaic, the Raritan, the Delaware, and the Schuylkill, were ferried across in the same primitive manner, and arrived in three days at Philadelphia. Such were the simple modes of travelling in the olden time.

In 1766, the Methodist denomination was first organized in the city by Philip Embury and others, and in 1767 the first church of this sect was erected upon the site of the present one in John, near Nassau street, and, like it, christened Wesley Chapel. Several new streets were opened and regulated about the same time, among others, Cliff street and Park place. For the better prevention of fires, an ordinance was passed directing that all the roofs in the city should be covered with slate or tiles. For some years, however, tiles alone were used, the first building roofed with slate being, it is said, the City Hotel in Broadway, erected about 1794.

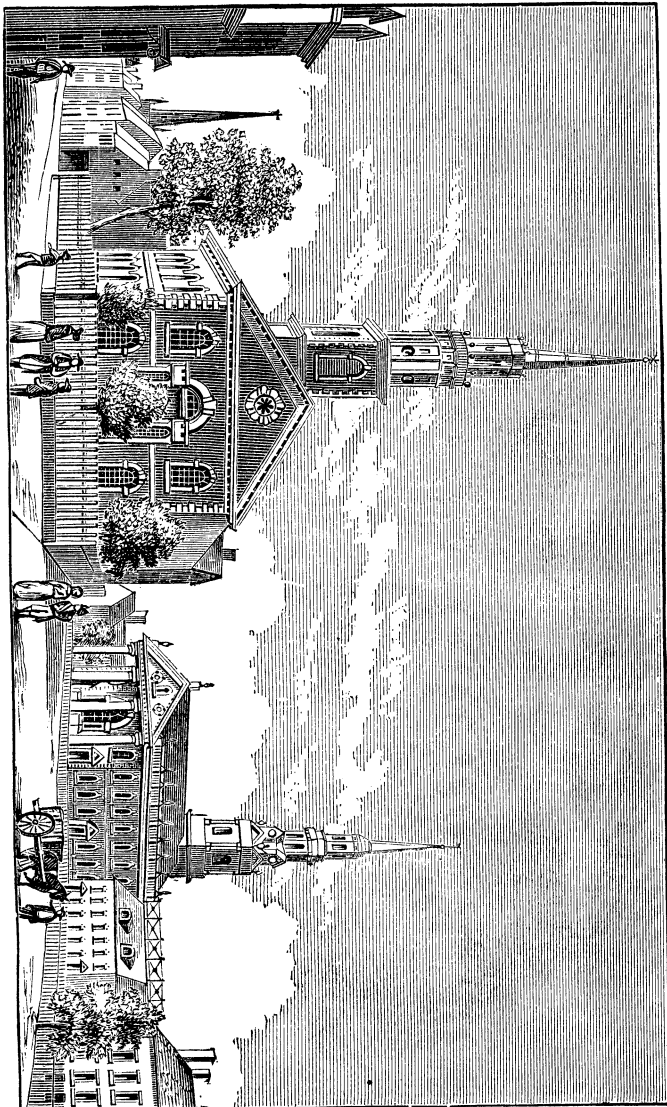
A riot of the British soldiers about this time occasioned some excitement in the city. These worthies conceived the sudden freak of setting the prisoners free, and marching to the new jail, now the Hall of Records, they broke open the door and demanded the keys of the keeper. These being refused them, they fired through

the door, grazing the ear of Major Rogers, one of their officers who had been imprisoned for debt and whose release was really the chief object of their attack ; then, forcing the door, they told the prisoners that they were at liberty, and attempted to carry off their major in triumph. The prisoners not seeming disposed to quit the jail, the soldiers attempted to drive them out by force, and were only stopped by the arrival of the city militia, who had been summoned in haste to the scene of the combat. The riot was soon quelled and some of the offenders arrested, who declared, upon trial, that they had been instigated by Rogers ; the affair, however, was passed lightly by, like most of the offences of the British soldiery.

But we have anticipated events. The deceitful calm of 1762 became strangely troubled ere the end of the year, and in 1763, the clouds gathered thickly in the horizon, foreboding the coming tempest. Towards the close of the last-named year, Monckton abandoned the government for more congenial pursuits, and returned to England, leaving Cadwallader Colden again at the head of affairs. The sequel of his administration is too important to be introduced at the close of a chapter.



Methodist Church in John Street in olden times.



Brick Church in Beekman Street, first opened for service in 1768.

CHAPTER XIV.

1763—1769.

Passage of the Stamp Act—Organization of the Sons of Liberty—First Colonial Congress in the City of New York—Non-Importation Agreement of the Merchants—Repeal of the Stamp Act—The Liberty Pole—Tax on Tea.

CADWALLADER COLDEN had truly taken the helm of public affairs in the face of a gathering tempest. The contest between Great Britain and the colonies was fast drawing on. The people were daily growing more bitter against their rulers, while the latter grew more persistent in enforcing their rigorous policy. While the colonies had been poor and struggling for existence, Great Britain had been fully contented to let them alone. New Amsterdam, indeed, had owed somewhat to the care of its Holland patrons, but the pioneers of the British colonies had been driven out like Ishmaelites into the wilderness to contend with a rigorous climate and a savage foe, with no other aid than their own scanty resources, backed by indomitable perseverance and courage. But no sooner had the Dutch settlement grown, through the industry of its founders, into a rich and flourishing province, than England contrived by

mingled force and intrigue to wrest it from the hands of its rightful owners ; then, consolidating the colonies and establishing over them a government of her own, she wrung from them a rich revenue in the shape of imposts and taxes, and compelled them to support and to be ruled by adventurers of her own choosing, whose sole interest in public affairs lay in the amount of money that could be extorted under divers pretexts from the purses of the people.

The truth is that Great Britain contemptuously regarded the colonists as rich barbarians, the chief end of whose existence was to furnish an ample revenue to the mother-country. Their interests were wholly disregarded in the government councils, and the restrictions imposed on them were rigorous in the extreme. The English parliament claimed the right of regulating the trade of the colonies, and, under cover of this pretext, levied heavy duties upon imports, ostensibly for the purpose of defraying custom-house expenses, and, at the same time, sedulously suppressed all attempts at home manufactures. By a series of navigation acts, the colonists were forbidden to trade with any foreign country, or to export to England any merchandise of their own in any but English vessels. The country was full of iron, but not an axe or a hammer could be manufactured by the inhabitants without violating the law. Beaver was abundant, but to limit its manufacture, no hatter was permitted to have more than two apprentices, and not a hat could be sold from one colony to another. Of the wool which was sheared in such abundance from the flocks, not a yard of cloth could be manufactured except

for private use, nor a pound exported from one town to another ; but the raw material must all be sent to England to be manufactured there, then to come back as imported cloths, laden with heavy duties. Imposts were also levied upon sugar, molasses, and all articles of foreign luxury imported into the colonies, and America was, in fact, regarded only as a place from which to raise money.

Notwithstanding, the colonists had patiently submitted to this manifest injustice. They had evaded the payment of the duties by living frugally and dispensing with the luxuries which could only be obtained at such a cost. They had accepted the royal governors, profligate and imbecile as they often were, and had contented themselves with opposing their unjust exactions. In the French and Indian wars, they had acted nobly, and by lavish expenditure of their blood and treasure, had secured to England the possession of a rich and long-coveted territory. These wars, which had added such lustre to the crown of Great Britain, and had secured the broad lands of Canada to her domain, had cost the colonies thirty thousand of their bravest soldiers, and left them burdened with a debt of thirteen millions of pounds. But, insatiable in her desires, in return for this, she required still more. The country which had been able to contribute so largely in the intercolonial wars, had not, she thought, been taxed to the utmost, and, in order to wring from it a still larger revenue, new means were proposed by the British ministry for establishing a system of parliamentary taxation—a right which the colonists had ever persistently denied.

In 1763, it was proposed by Lord Grenville, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to raise a permanent revenue from the colonies by direct taxation ; to be accomplished by taxing various articles of foreign produce, and by establishing stamp duties in the Anglo-American possessions. It was also proposed to maintain a standing army of ten thousand men, ostensibly for the defence of the colonies, but in reality to overawe them and coerce them to obedience. The following year, Lord Grenville became prime-minister, and these schemes were brought before the notice of parliament. It was immediately decided that the mother country had an undoubted right to tax her colonies, and, though the passage of the stamp act was delayed for a season, a sugar act was passed at once, which, while it lessened the duties formerly imposed upon sugar and molasses, levied new taxes on articles hitherto free, and gave increased power to the admiralty courts and the royal collectors of customs.

The news of these proceedings fell like a thunderbolt upon the colonists, and they rose to a man in open opposition to this new tyranny. Meetings were held throughout all the colonies, and petitions forwarded to the parliament, protesting against the proposed stamp duties and praying for the repeal of the recent sugar act. New York was foremost in these demonstrations. On the 18th of March, 1764, the Assembly adopted and forwarded a memorial to the ministry, protesting against this invasion of their rights. But this document was couched in terms so decided that no member of the sycophantic parliament was found bold enough to present it,

and the daring province was afterwards forced to pay the penalty for this and other acts of audacity in the total suspension of legislative power. The petitions of the sister colonies, feebler in tone, were received and considered, then rejected by parliament; and on the 22d of March, 1765, the celebrated Stamp Act was finally passed. By the provisions of this act, all legal and mercantile documents and contracts, newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs, etc., were required to be written or printed on stamped paper, upon which a duty was imposed, and which was to be sold only by agents appointed by the British government.

The news of these arbitrary enactments reached New York early in April, where it was received with the deepest indignation. Copies of the Stamp Act with a death's head affixed were hawked about the streets under the title of "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." The citizens assembled, and resolved that no stamped paper should be used among them. On the 21st of September, a new paper, called the *Constitutional Courant*, made its appearance, bearing for its device a snake divided into eight pieces, with the motto, "Join or Die," and the device was caught up and repeated from one end of the country to the other.*

* The appearance of this paper, which was circulated largely in the city, excited great commotion, and efforts were made by the governor and council to discover the author and printer, but without success. It was a half sheet of medium size, with the imprint, "Printed by Andrew Marvel, at the sign of the Bribe Refused, or Constitution Hill, North America, and containing matters interesting to Liberty, and in nowise repugnant to loyalty," and was dated Saturday, September 21, 1765. The device occupied the centre of the title. It was really printed at Parker's printing house in Burlington, N. J., by William Goddard, the fictitious Andrew Marvel.

Nor was this the first demonstration of the spirit of the citizens. In the preceding spring, they had given his majesty's officers some preliminary lessons which should have warned them of the temper of the men with whom they had to deal. The system of impressment was still in vogue, and the naval officers regarded American sailors as lawful prey. In April, 1764, the ship *Prince George* arrived from Bristol, and the sailors, seeing the *Garland* man-of-war lying in the harbor, took possession of the ship and steered up the bay. No sooner were they perceived by the *Garland*, than a boat was dispatched to board the vessel and bring back some new recruits for his majesty's service. The sailors were armed and in readiness for their visitors, who were beaten off with little difficulty. Seeing the defeat of his men, the captain of the *Garland* opened a fire on the merchantman, and sent another boat's crew to the assistance of the first, but the sailors triumphantly pursued their way, and brought their vessel safely into the harbor, while their discomfited assailants returned to the man-of-war, vowing revenge on the audacious rebels.

Aggressions of this sort, in truth, were frequent, and one, which occurred in the ensuing July, aroused the populace to a public demonstration. Four fishermen who supplied the New York markets were seized by a press-gang, and carried aboard a tender from Halifax, then lying in the harbor. The next morning, the captain came on shore in his barge, but no sooner had the boat touched the shore, than it was seized by the people, who

But a single number was issued; a continuance was never intended.—See *Isaiah Thomas' "History of Printing,"* vol. ii. p. 322.

bore it off in triumph to their rallying-place, the Commons. The terrified officer offered at once to release the fishermen, and, going to the Coffee-House, hastily wrote an order for their release. Armed with this paper, a party of the Sons of Liberty repaired to the tender and soon returned in triumph with the prisoners ; but, in the meantime, the people had burnt the barge. The city magistrates, who had vainly endeavored to restrain the populace, met in the afternoon to take cognizance of the affair, but no one knew anything of the authors of the mischief. The magistrates did not press the investigation, and the affair ended satisfactorily to all but the unlucky captain of the tender. Yet the British ministry failed to profit by these lessons, and in the face of such marked and spirited demonstrations, dared to pass an act which could not fail to root out all lingering affection for the mother country from the hearts of the colonists. and estrange them from her forever.

The 1st of November was the day appointed for the Stamp Act to take effect. The stamps were to be prepared in England, then sent to agents in the colonies accredited by parliament to receive them. James McEvers was appointed Stamp Distributor for New York. These agents at once became objects of distrust to the people, who were resolved that this distribution never should take place. The association of the Sons of Liberty, founded in the stirring days of the Zenger trial by William Smith, William Livingston and John Morin Scott, for the protection of popular rights, threatened by the attempt of Cosby to make the judges and council subservient to the crown by issuing their commissions "dur-

“ing the pleasure of the king,” instead of “during good “behavior” as before, now revived, and circulated its principles by means of colporteurs and auxiliary associations throughout the entire middle and eastern colonies. Of this association, Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Alexander McDougall, Marinus Willett, Gershom Mott, Francis Lewis, Hugh Hughes, William Wiley, Thomas Robinson, Flores Bancker, and Edward Laight were the leaders, all men of tried patriotism and stanch courage. Through their London correspondent, Nicholas Ray, they received intelligence of the movements of the British parliament, and thwarted them by every means in their power. The Assemblies, on their part, projected a general union of the colonies for mutual protection, and summoned a congress of delegates from the several provinces to meet at New York on the 7th of October, 1765, to consult together in respect to the proposed confederation.

On the day appointed, the first colonial congress, consisting of twenty-eight delegates from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, assembled for deliberation in the City Hall in Wall street. The Assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina having adjourned before the adoption of the measure, no deputation was in attendance from either of these colonies, though they sympathized warmly with the objects of the meeting. Robert R. Livingston, John Cruger, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, and Leonard Lispenard composed the New York delegation. Previously to the meeting, a deputation waited on Lieutenant-Governor

Colden to solicit his sympathy and aid. "Your congress is unconstitutional, unprecedented and unlawful, "and I shall give you no countenance," was his sole reply, as he ordered the fortifications to be strengthened, and everything to be put in readiness for the reception of the stamps.

Nothing daunted by this harsh repulse, the congress commenced their deliberations. Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts was chosen president. The session lasted three weeks, during which time a declaration of rights was adopted, embodying the claims and grievances of the colonies. First enunciating the principle that taxation without representation was tyranny, the daring colonists went on to prove, that, as distance rendered this representation impossible to them in the English parliament, this right was vested only in the colonial legislatures; and therefore that the Stamp Act, with all others of its kind, was a tyrannical grievance which at once must be abolished. A respectful address to the king and a memorial to both houses of parliament was drawn up and signed by most of the members.

The papers of the day, both royalist and democratic, were filled with inflammatory articles. Handbills were circulated among the people by the Sons of Liberty, and the *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post Boy*, now published by John Holt,* became the vehicle of the

* At this time, three papers were issued in the city; the *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post Boy*, established by James Parker upon the discontinuance of Bradford's paper in January, 1742-3, and now published by John Holt; the *New York Mercury*, first issued in August, 1752, by Hugh Gaine; and the *New York Gazette*, published in February, 1759, by William Weyman. In November of the following year, Parker resumed the publication of the *Gazette and Post Boy*, and continued

popular party. On the morning of the 31st of October, the day before that on which the obnoxious act was to take effect, the last-named journal made its appearance in mourning, headed by the following prologue :

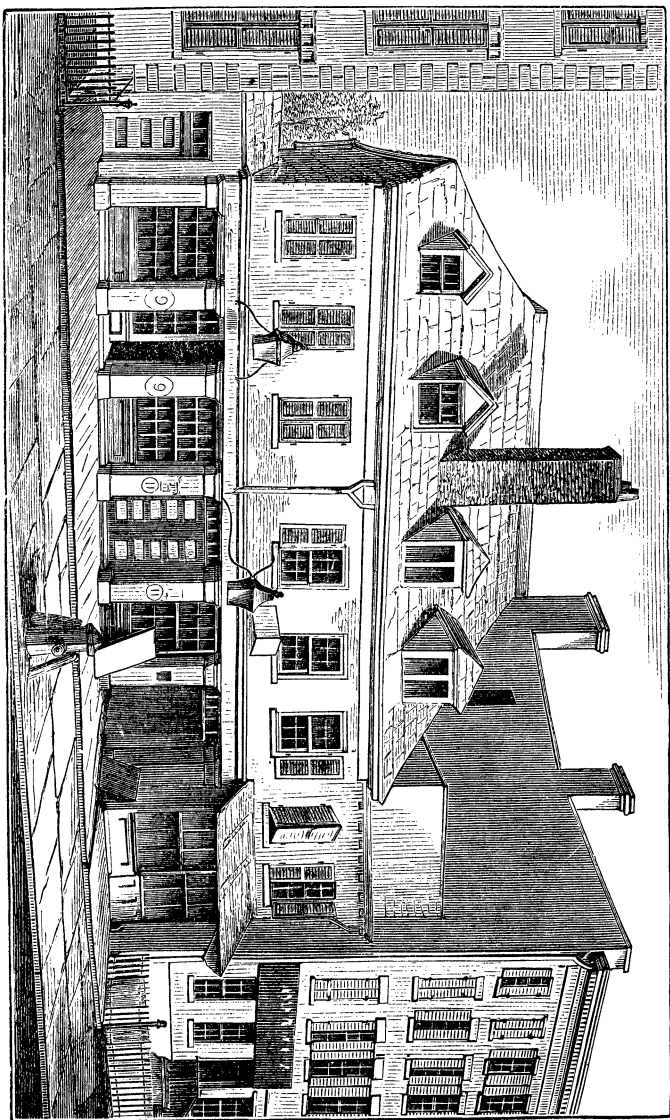
“ A Funeral Lamentation on the
DEATH OF LIBERTY,
Who finally Expires on this
31st of October, in the year of our Lord MDCCLXV.,
And of our Slavery
I.”

The discourse which followed was worthy of the opening. In the evening, the merchants of the city who were engaged in the importation of English goods met at Burns' Coffee House, late the Atlantic Gardens, and adopted the following resolutions :

1. To import no goods from England until the Stamp Act be repealed.
2. To countermand all orders already sent for spring goods.
3. To sell no goods from England on commission.

it until his death in 1770; while Holt issued a new paper under the title of the *New York Journal, or General Advertiser*, which remained the organ of the Liberty Party until the capture of the city in 1776. Holt then removed to Esopus, where he set up his press; then, upon the burning of the village in October, 1777, he transferred it to Poughkeepsie, where he continued its publication until the close of the war. In the autumn of 1783, it was again printed in the city of New York under the title of the *Independent Gazette, or the New York Journal Revived*. Upon the death of Holt, in the following year, the paper was continued by his widow and Eleazer Oswald until January, 1787, when it passed into the hands of Thomas Greenleaf, who merged it into two papers—a weekly, entitled *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, and a daily, with the title of the *New York Journal and Daily Patriotic Register*, afterwards the *Argus, or Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser*. Such was the origin of the first daily paper of New York.

Burns' Coffee House, in which the first non-importation agreement of the colonies was signed on the 81st of October, 1765, by the merchants of the City of New York.



4. To abide by these resolutions until they shall be rescinded at a general meeting called for the purpose.

These resolutions were signed by more than two hundred merchants. The retailers, on their part, bound themselves to buy no goods of any person that should be shipped after the first day of January unless the Stamp Act should be repealed. To the merchants of New York city belongs the credit of having been the first to sacrifice their commercial interests to the cause of liberty. At the same meeting, a non-importation association was organized, and a committee appointed, consisting of John Lamb, Isaac Sears, William Wiley, Gershom Mott and Thomas Robinson—all prominent members of the Sons of Liberty—to correspond with the other colonies with a view to the universal adoption of similar measures. A reward of five hundred pounds was offered for the detection of any villain who should presume to make use of the stamped paper, on which the law required that every valid instrument should be drawn—marriage licenses, business contracts, shipping clearances and legal documents of all kinds.

On the 23d of October, 1765, while the congress was still in session, the stamps arrived from England in a ship commanded by Captain Davis, but the accredited stamp distributor was nowhere to be found; and, not daring to retain them on board his own ship, the captain transferred them to a man-of-war lying in the harbor. Fearing the fury of the excited populace, McEvers, a few days before, had resigned his commission to the lieutenant-governor. “McEvers is intimidated, but I am not afraid, and the stamps shall be delivered in

“due time,” said Colden, as he ordered them to be brought on shore and deposited in the fort for safety. But so great was the fear inspired by the people that no official dared touch the papers, and after some delay they were finally conveyed by Captain Davis to the governor’s house in Fort George ; and on the 31st of October, while the patriots were threatening vengeance on all who should dare to distribute the papers, Colden took oaths to carry the Stamp Act into effect.

No sooner had the stamps been landed than handbills appeared as if by magic in the streets, forbidding any one at his peril to make use of the obnoxious paper. In the evening, the citizens assembled in large numbers and marched to the fort, where they were ordered by the governor to disperse. Without heeding his command, they fell into line and marched in silence through the principal streets of the city—a funeral cortége, mourning their lost liberty—then separated at midnight and returned quietly to their homes.

The next day was the dreaded first of November—the day on which the British parliament had decreed that the Stamp Act should take effect. In the course of the day, more of the mysterious placards appeared in the streets, but the day wore away without other demonstration than the appearance from time to time of more of the mysterious handbills, posted by an unknown hand. The grand celebration of the festival was deferred until evening. Soon after sunset, two organized companies, composed in great part of the Sons of Liberty, appeared in the streets. The first of these repaired directly to the Commons where they proceeded

to erect a gallows, on which was suspended an effigy of Cadwallader Colden, with a stamped paper in his hand, a drum at his back, and a label on his breast bearing the inscription, *The Rebel Drummer* of 1745.* By his side hung an effigy of the devil with a boot in his hand, designed as a satire upon the Earl of Bute, at whose instigation they had the charity to believe that he had acted. The other party, meanwhile, proceeded to the fort, carrying an effigy of Colden, seated in a chair, and attended by torch-bearers. The procession was followed by a crowd of citizens. They broke open the stable of the lieutenant-governor, and, taking out his chariot, placed the effigy in it, then returned in triumph to rejoin their comrades, who were just raising their gallows to take up their march to the city. Both companies immediately mingled into one, the strictest orders were given that not a word should be spoken or a stone thrown, and the long procession set out for the fort, where they found the soldiers drawn up on the ramparts ready to receive them, and the muzzles of the cannon aimed directly at their ranks. But, notwithstanding this threatening demonstration, Gage, who was then the British commander, prudently restrained his troops from firing, well knowing that their first volley would be followed by the instant destruction of the fort. The rioters knocked at the gate for admission, which, of course, was denied them ; then, proceeding to the Bowling Green, they tore down the wooden palisades about it, and kindling a fire,

* Colden had served as a drummer in 1745 in the army of the Pretender, hence the allusion.

burned carriage, gallows, effigies and devil. Hitherto the proceedings had been conducted with the utmost decorum. But the fury of the populace could be restrained no longer, and, despite the remonstrances of the more moderate of the Sons of Liberty, an excited party broke loose from their companions, and, proceeding to Vauxhall, on the corner of Warren and Greenwich streets, at that time occupied by Major James of the British army, a staunch friend of the Stamp Act, who had incensed the people by some insolent expressions, broke open the house, rifled it of its rich furniture, kindled another bonfire and consumed the whole in the flames. Not an article was spared, with the exception of the royal colors, which were borne away as a trophy by the party—pictures, mathematical instruments, books, curtains, carpets and furniture—all were involved in the general ruin. Major James was afterwards indemnified for his losses by the corporation, but, regarding the act in the light of a just punishment, they refused the same satisfaction to Colden.

The next evening, the people assembled again upon the Commons, and determined to march to the fort and to demand the delivery of the stamped paper. But before this resolution could be carried into effect, Colden wisely determined to withdraw from the contest, and issued a bulletin declaring that he would have nothing at all to do with the stamps, but would leave them to Sir Henry Moore, the new governor, now hourly expected, to dispose of them as he pleased upon his arrival. In the next issue of the *Gazette and Post Boy* appeared the following notice :

“The governor acquainted Judge Livingston, the
“mayor, Mr. Beverly Robinson and Mr. John Stevens
“this morning, being Monday the 4th of November, that
“he would not issue nor suffer to be issued any of the
“stamps now in Fort George.

(Signed)

“ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,

“JOHN CRUGER,

“BEVERLY ROBINSON,

“JOHN STEVENS.”

The following notice also appeared without signatures :

“The freemen, freeholders and inhabitants of this
“city, being satisfied that the stamps are not to be issued,
“are determined to keep the peace of the city, at all
“events, except that they should have other cause of
“complaint.”

But this anonymous communication failed to express the sentiments of the people. On the following evening, pursuant to a call issued a few days before, an armed body of citizens assembled on the Commons, resolved to storm the fort and obtain forcible possession of the papers. Alarmed at this demonstration, the governor, who had been fruitlessly negotiating with Captain Kennedy of the ship of war Coventry, then lying in the harbor, to receive the stamps on board his vessel, consented to yield, and delivered them from the fort gate to the mayor and corporation, who had previously demanded them at his

hands, promising to be accountable for their safe-keeping, accompanied with a letter which we transcribe entire :

“ FORT GEORGE, Nov. 5th, 1765.

“ Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the Corporation : In
“ consequence of your earnest request, and engaging to
“ make good all such sums as might be raised by the
“ destruction of the stamps sent over for the use of this
“ province that shall be lost, destroyed, or carried out of
“ the province, and in consequence of the unanimous
“ advice of his majesty’s council, and the concurrence of
“ the commander-in-chief of the king’s forces, and to
“ prevent the effusion of blood and the calamities of a
“ civil war which might ensue from my withholding
“ them from you, I now deliver to you the packages of
“ stamped paper and parchments that were deposited in
“ my hands in this his majesty’s fort ; and I doubt not
“ that you will take the charge and care of them con-
“ formably to your engagement to me.

“ I am, with great regard, gentlemen,

“ Your most ob’dt humble servant,

“ CADWALLADER COLDEN.”

The mayor and corporation received the stamps amid the huzzas of the people, returning to the governor the following receipt :

“ Received from the Honorable Cadwallader Colden,
“ Esq., his majesty’s lieutenant-general and commander-
“ in-chief of the province of New York, seven packages
“ containing stamped papers and parchments, all marked

“ ‘No. 1, James McEvers, I. M. E., New York,’ which
“ we promise, in behalf of the corporation of the city of
“ New York, to take charge and care of, and to be
“ accountable in case they shall be destroyed or carried
“ out of the province. Witness our hands.

(Witness)

“ JOHN CRUGER, Mayor,

“ L. F. CAREY,

“ Major to the 60th Reg't.

“ JAMES FARQUHAR.”

The formalities of the transfer having thus been concluded amid the ironical cheers of the multitude, the Sons of Liberty escorted the civic authorities to the City Hall, and, after seeing the stamps deposited there in safety, quietly dispersed. It was not long before a new outrage roused them to action. Previously to the delivery of the papers, the cannon in the king's yard and on Copsey's battery had been spiked, as was alleged, by the orders of Colden, to prevent the people from making use of them in case of an attack upon the fort. It was never clearly proved that the governor was guilty of this charge, but the majority of the people were fully persuaded of it at the time, and loudly expressed their indignation. A petition was even addressed to the Assembly, entreating them to deduct the amount of damages from the governor's salary ; but the request, which came from an unknown source, was at once rejected, and a reward was offered for the discovery of the writers. The excitement, however, continued for some time, the citizens inveighed bitterly against Colden as the author of the mischief, and even burned his

effigy, seated on a spiked cannon, one night on the Commons.

The Committee of Correspondence that had been appointed on the 31st of October wasted no time in idleness, but at once addressed circulars to the merchants of the sister-cities, inviting them to join in the non-intercourse agreement as the best method of frustrating the designs of Great Britain. These unhesitatingly answered to their summons, and the suspension of trade soon became universal. To lessen the inconveniences felt by the citizens, a fair was opened a little below the Exchange for the sale of articles of home manufacture, and the citizens soon learned to appreciate the internal resources of their own country, and to sacrifice foreign luxuries on the shrine of patriotism. To wear silks and broadcloths was accounted a disgrace, the wealthiest and most fashionable appeared clad in the homespun linsey-woolsey, and the grand-dames cheerfully exchanged the once indispensable tea and coffee for decoctions made from the fragrant wild herbs of the American soil. Documents continued to be written and newspapers printed on unstamped paper, and betrothed couples, dispensing with the now hateful licenses, were proclaimed in church by bans as in olden time.

Nor was this all ; the Committee of Correspondence, impressed with the idea that union was power, framed articles of confederation banding the colonies together in resistance to the Stamp Act, and providing for the assembling of a general congress to concert measures for future action in case the British ministry should persist in enforcing it. These articles were sent to the eastern

and southern colonies for their concurrence, by whom they were at once unanimously adopted.

On the 11th of November, the corporation tendered an address to General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, congratulating him upon the restoration of the city to tranquillity and its preservation from the horrors of a civil war, and imputing the result to his prudence in not heightening the spirit of discontent already so prevalent in the colonies, by firing on the citizens on the night of the riot. In truth, whether from prudence or otherwise, a remarkable spirit of forbearance had been manifested, for the guns of the fort had been turned upon the rioters during the whole of the proceedings on the Bowling Green, and, with the aid of the ships of war then lying in the harbor, nothing would have been easier than to have accomplished the destruction of the city. It is true that the act would have called forth a terrible retribution ; but that was in the future, while the chances for an easy capture lay close at hand. Gage curtly replied to this bold address, that the spirit which so lately had been shown among them had been carried almost to open rebellion, and recommended them to show their respect to his majesty less in words than in deeds, and to use their best efforts to calm the madness of the people, and to bring them back to a sense of the duty which they owed their superiors. The two parties were now generally distinguished as Whigs and Tories, names originally imported from England ; but the New York patriots still continued to retain their favorite appellation of Sons of Liberty.

About this time, the ship *Minerva*, Captain Tillet,

arrived in the harbor, bringing a second shipment of stamps and a new stamp distributor in the person of Peter De Lancey, jr., who had been appointed in the stead of the recreant McEvers. With her also came the newly-appointed governor, Sir Henry Moore, who at once won the affections of the people by declaring that he would have nothing at all to do with the obnoxious papers. The stamps were deposited with the rest in the City Hall, and a Committee of the Sons of Liberty waited on De Lancey, and warned him that his wisest course would be to resign. De Lancey yielded with a good grace to the necessity, and, protesting that, when he received the appointment, he was ignorant of the objections of the people, resigned his commission and published a disclaimer in the papers of the day. A formal renunciation was also exacted of McEvers, and the city was thus freed from these dreaded officials. But the Sons of Liberty went even further; on learning that Zachary Hood, one of the stamp distributors for Maryland, had fled for protection to Governor Colden, and had taken shelter at Flushing, on Long Island, they sent a deputation to compel him to resign, and to abjure his office publicly by oath--a service for which they afterwards received the grateful thanks of their Maryland brethren.

Delighted with the favorable disposition evinced by the new governor, the civic authorities gave him a cordial reception, and the Sons of Liberty held a grand mass meeting in the Commons, now the rallying-place of liberty, where they erected a pyramid and kindled bonfires in his honor. They had previously tendered him a congratulatory address, which had been received

with favor. In fact, everything augured well for the good intentions of the new governor. Anxious to conciliate his subjects, he ordered the fortifications which had been commenced by Colden at the fort and the battery to be discontinued, and declared that he did not intend to meddle with the enforcement of the Stamp Act. The Assembly, which met on the day of his arrival, confirmed the action of their committee in the colonial congress, and adopted resolutions of the same import.

About the same time, the ship *Hope*, commanded by Captain Christian Jacobson, arrived from London, and the fact was chronicled with the comment that Captain Jacobson was the first who had had the honor of refusing to bring stamps to America.

On the 25th of November, the merchants met again at their usual place of rendezvous, and resolved to continue their non-importation agreement, despite the deadly blow which it inflicted on their interests. A committee was also appointed to frame an address to be presented to the Assembly, complaining of the restrictions on trade, and especially protesting against the appeal from the decision of juries, which Colden had sedulously endeavored to introduce.

The vigilant Sons of Liberty, meanwhile, had received information that stamps were yet on board the *Minerva*, designed for the sister colony of Connecticut. A call was issued at once for the gathering of the brotherhood, and at midnight on the 26th, the vessel was boarded, but no papers were found. They had been transferred to another vessel. Gaining a clew to this fact from their brethren of Philadelphia, the patriots kept a lookout for

the suspicious craft, and as soon as she hove in sight, boarded and searched her. This time, the search was not in vain. Ten packages of stamps were discovered by the self-appointed custom-house officers, which were taken up to the ship-yards at the foot of Catharine street and burned there. Soon after, it was discovered by the indefatigable Sons of Liberty that a merchant of the city by the name of Lewis Pintard had sent a bond to Philadelphia written on stamped paper. The vender of the stamp was immediately sought out, his house searched, and the stamped paper which was found there committed to the flames. Mr. Pintard screened himself from their vengeance by taking an oath that he was ignorant at the time of its transmission that the bond had been written on stamped paper. These energetic measures elicited the approbation of the other colonies, and encomiums were lavished by the members of the sister cities on the gallant conduct of the patriots of New York.

About the middle of December, Captain Blow arrived from Quebec, bringing with him a stamped pass from General Murray, the governor of Canada. This was the first piece of stamped paper that had appeared in the city. It was immediately posted up at Burns' Coffee-House, the general rendezvous of the Sons of Liberty, and gazed at by the dejected citizens as the epitaph of their freedom. In the evening, a procession of patriots paraded the streets of the city, bearing a gallows on which were suspended three effigies—that of Lord Grenville, the author of the Stamp Act; of Lord Colville, who had endeavored to enforce it by stopping colonial vessels; and of General Murray, who had signed the first

piece of stamped paper that had made its way into the city of New York. The march ended, the effigies were taken to the Commons and burned there.

Not less energetic were the demonstrations of the other colonies in respect to the odious Stamp Act. Seeing the determined attitude of the people, the ministry at length determined to recede, and repealed it on the 20th of February, 1766. On the 20th of May, the news reached New York, where it was received with the greatest enthusiasm. On the following day, the people assembled on the Commons, and manifested their delight by every possible demonstration. Bells were rung, cannon fired, and a public dinner given by the civic authorities. In the evening, bonfires were kindled in the fields, and the whole city was illuminated in honor of the triumph of liberty.

Not content with this, the patriots assembled again on the Commons on the 4th of June—the king's birthday—for a second celebration, and Moore, hoping thus to strengthen their loyalty, politically encouraged them in their rejoicings. An ox was roasted, and twenty-five barrels of strong beer were provided, with a hogshhead of rum, and the necessary ingredients to convert the whole into punch. A pole was erected, about which were piled twenty-five cords of wood, with twelve blazing tar-barrels suspended at the top, while at another part of the Commons, twenty-five cannon fired a salute, to the sound of which the royal standard was raised amid the shouts and huzzas of the excited populace. But the crowning event of the day was the erection of a pole or mast inscribed, "The King, Pitt, and Liberty"—a Liberty-Pole which served as the rallying-

point for many a sharp contest during the succeeding years, and which came to stand for a principle almost as dear to the New Yorkers as that of personal taxation.

The repeal of the Stamp Act served, in the first flush of victory, to cover a multitude of sins. But it was not long before the colonists looked more closely at the conditions which surrounded it. In the first place, the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies was distinctly asserted, even by Pitt, the so-called champion of American liberty. Yet, despite this, a large meeting of the citizens assembled at Burns' Coffee House, on the 23d of June, and petitioned the Assembly to erect a statue in honor of William Pitt. The request was granted. It was also determined to erect an equestrian statue of George III. on the Bowling Green, and a hundred pounds were appropriated for the purchase of a service of plate for John Sargent, in token of the faithful services which he had rendered in England as agent of the colonies. The statue of Pitt was of marble, and was set up in Wall street on the 7th of September, 1770. The statesman was represented in a Roman toga, with a half-open scroll in his right hand, on which were the words, *Articuli Magnæ Chartæ Libertatum*. The left hand was extended, as if in the act of delivering an oration. The pedestal bore the inscription: "This Statue of the "Right Honorable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was "erected as a public testimony of the grateful sense the "colony of New York retains of the many eminent services he rendered to America, particularly in promoting the repeal of the Stamp Act, Anno Domini 1770." It did not long retain its place. After the occupation

of the city by the British in 1775, the head and right hand were struck off by the soldiery, in revenge for the insults before offered by the Americans to the statue of George III. The headless trunk remained standing until after the evacuation in 1783, when it was removed to the Bridewell Yard. It was thence transferred to the yard of the Arsenal near the Collect, and finally found its way to the corner of Franklin street and West Broadway, where its headless trunk may now be seen in front of the basement entrance of the Museum Hotel.

Nor did the leaden equestrian statue of George III., which was erected on the Bowling Green in front of Fort George on the 21st of August, 1770, amid the noise of artillery and the huzzas of the people, meet a better fate. In the revulsion of feeling which followed the imposition of the duty on tea, the horse and rider was thrown from its pedestal and dragged through the streets by the indignant patriots; then run into bullets for the use of the Revolutionary soldiers. The pedestal of the statue remained standing for some time longer, and was finally removed a few years after the close of the war.*

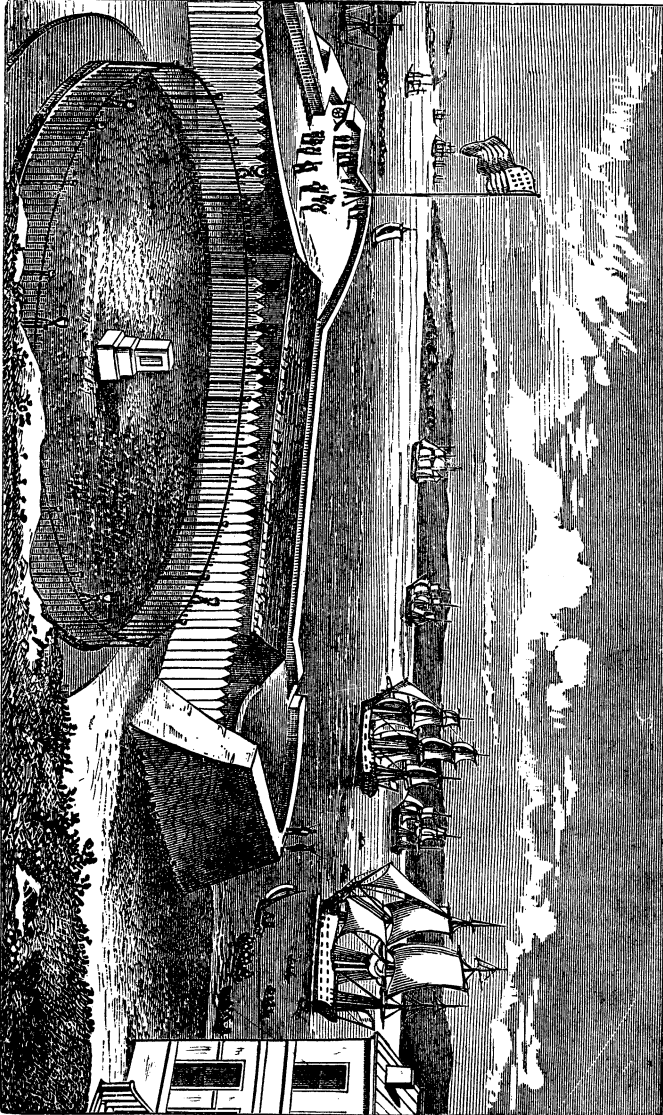
We have already mentioned the erection of a *Liberty*

* This statue has a curious history. Erected during the outburst of loyalty that followed the repeal of the Stamp Act, upon the reception in New York of the news of the Declaration of Independence, it was dragged from its pedestal by a band of patriots headed by Belden, and sent, hewed in pieces, to Litchfield, then the residence of Oliver Wolcott, the patriot governor of Connecticut, by whose wife and daughters it was run into bullets, of which the Whigs of the surrounding country were invited to come and take freely. In their hands, they did good service, killing four hundred British soldiers during the subsequent invasion of Connecticut by Governor Tryon. Forty-two thousand bullets were made from the statue. The saddle-cloth was sunk in a marsh opposite the house of Wolcott, where it was discovered a few years since by accident and ex-

Pole on the Commons, on the 4th of June, 1766. This formed the pretext for a series of outrages which kept the city in a perpetual ferment, and goaded on the people to open civil war. The British soldiers detailed for the *protection* of the city were at that time quartered in the barracks standing on the line of Chambers street, and were thus brought in daily contact with the people. Enraged at some triumphant expressions of the Sons of Liberty, on the 10th of August, a party belonging to the 28th Regiment cut down the Liberty Pole which had been erected on the king's birthday. The next day, the citizens assembled on the Commons, and were preparing to erect another in its stead, when they were attacked by an armed party of soldiers and forced to disperse. Several of their number were seriously wounded, among whom were Isaac Sears and John Berrien, both prominent members of the Sons of Liberty. The citizens complained loudly of this outrage, and Theophilus Hardenbrook and Peter Vandervoort made affidavits before the mayor, charging the soldiers with having, without provocation, commenced the assault. But the conduct of the soldiers was approved by their officers, and their commander, Major Arthur Brown, coolly told the mayor that the whole charge was an utter falsehood, and, though the affidavits were sustained by abundant testimony, refused to punish or even reprimand the offenders. The Liberty Pole was set up again by the

humbled, and, after passing through various hands, was purchased by Mr. Riley of the Museum Hotel, where it remained for some years with the statue of Pitt, but was finally broken and destroyed. It is a pity that these interesting relics had not found a place in the rooms of the Historical Society.

Battery and Bowling Green during the Revolution.



citizens and suffered to stand a few days longer, then levelled to the ground on the night of the 23d of September. Before two days had passed, a third one was erected in its stead, and the soldiers, restrained by the orders of Moore, permitted it to stand without further molestation.

During the whole winter, the city was harassed by continual outrages on the part of the soldiers. Houses of peaceable citizens were broken open and plundered under pretext of searching for proofs of rebellion. On one occasion, a soldier forced his way into the dwelling of an industrious carman, and, after wounding him severely with his bayonet, hamstringed his horse and thus deprived him of his only means of support for his family. No notice was taken by the officers of these aggressions; on the contrary, they rather countenanced them in secret, and urged on the soldiers to fresh assaults, hoping thus to break the spirit of the people, and to awe or coerce them into abject submission.

On the 18th of March, 1767, the people met on the Commons, and celebrated the first anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act with the greatest enthusiasm. This demonstration awakened the ire of the British soldiery, and, before morning, the Liberty Pole was again levelled to the ground. Nothing daunted, the next day the Sons of Liberty set up another and more substantial one, well secured with iron bands, in its place. On the same night, an attempt was made to destroy it, but without success. The next night, another attempt was made to blow it up with gunpowder, which also proved a failure. Incensed by these repeated assaults, the Sons

of Liberty set a strong guard around the pole. For three successive nights, the soldiers renewed their attacks, but each time were beaten off by the people. At length the governor, who had himself been suspected of secretly inciting the soldiers, interfered and peremptorily commanded them to desist. The pole continued to stand, a trophy of the victory of the people, and on the king's birthday, which happened not long after, the Union flag was run up to its top, and cannon planted at its foot answered derisively, gun for gun, to the royal salute from Fort George.

Let us return to the proceedings of the New York Assembly of 1761-1768,—a body which, by its daring acts in the cause of liberty, won for itself political martyrdom from the British ministry and a crown of lasting glory from all true patriots. Through the whole of the eventful Stamp Act epoch, the Assembly of New York stood true to the interests of the country, and to its bold protests against the enactment of the odious Stamp Act, its determined attitude in the struggle which ensued, and most of all, its earnest advocacy of the union of the colonies, aided by the efforts of the vigilant Sons of Liberty, may be attributed much of the almost miraculous success which attended the coming struggle for independence.

We have already spoken of the Declaratory Act, asserting the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies. Simultaneously with this was passed the Mutiny Act, requiring the citizens to furnish quarters for all the soldiers that might be stationed among them by the royal orders, and to provide them with various necessities ;

and Sir Henry Moore was instructed to lay the matter before the Assembly on his arrival, and to see that the troops were supplied according to the provisions of the Act. New York was at this time full of soldiers ; it was the head-quarters of the British army under General Gage, and new regiments of troops were daily expected. The people at once detected in these movements the fixed determination of the ministry to establish a standing army among them—a measure utterly abhorrent to their spirit of independence—and refused to comply. The Sons of Liberty banded together in open opposition, and the Assembly of 1766, to whom Moore communicated his instructions on his arrival, resolved that they could only legally be required to provide for soldiers on the march, and that, as there were already barracks enough to accommodate the soldiers then in the city, the requisition was wholly unnecessary for the present. They offered, however, to appropriate a sum which had been left over from the appropriation of a preceding year, to the support of two battalions not exceeding five hundred men each, but absolutely refused to maintain any more, or to furnish vinegar, salt and liquors as the provisions of the act required, limiting the supplies to candles, bedding, fuel and cooking utensils, as actual necessities of life. They also refused to indemnify Colden for the damages which he had sustained on the night of the riot, in opposition to the express commands of the king, alleging that he had suffered through his own misconduct ; though they granted Major James the required compensation, attributing his losses to the excitement of the mob. During this year, Whitehead

Hicks, a lawyer of the city, the descendant of a family of Friends who had settled in Queens County in the early days of the province, was chosen mayor.

Distasteful as were these limitations to the governor, he was forced to receive them as the best that could be obtained, though he complained bitterly in his letters to the ministry of the ingratitude shown by the colonists after the gracious repeal of the Stamp Act. The answers brought him back a reprimand for yielding; and on the 17th of November, 1766, the mortified governor communicated to the Assembly the king's positive refusal to receive the Limited Supply Bill, and the instructions of Lord Shelburne in respect to their future conduct. "I am ordered by his majesty," said Shelburne in these, "to signify to you that it is the indispensable duty of his subjects in America to obey the acts of the Legislature of Great Britain. The king both expects and requires a due and cheerful obedience to the same; and it cannot be doubted that his majesty's province of New York, after the lenity of Great Britain so recently extended to America, will gratefully yield a prompt submission."

On the 15th of the following month, the Assembly answered this arbitrary message by another as bold and decisive in tone. Insisting that, by strict construction, they could only be required to supply soldiers on the march, they declared that they had already, by the rejected Supply Bill, assumed heavier burdens than were borne by any other colony, and declared that, though they were willing to support his majesty's government, it must be in conformity with the circumstances

of their constituents. "And in conclusion," said they, "we cannot, consistently with our duty to these constituents, consent to put it in the power of any person, whatever confidence we may have in his prudence and integrity, to lay such burdens upon them at his pleasure." This bold response was forwarded to the king, and the Assembly was prorogued by the governor while waiting for an answer.

Displeasing as was the conduct of the Assembly to the ministry, it was almost equally so to the Sons of Liberty, who protested also against the Limited Supply Bill as an actual concession to the policy of the British government. But, urged on by rumors of warlike preparations in England, as well as by the threats and persuasions of the governor, they finally yielded another point, and consented to grant a further appropriation of three thousand five hundred pounds for the preceding and three thousand pounds for the current year to defray the expenses of the soldiers quartered among them. This compliance, while it incensed the Sons of Liberty, was too slight to atone for their past audacity. Resolved to punish the contumacy of the daring representatives, and to humble their arrogance, both houses of parliament, with scarcely a dissenting voice, passed a law suspending the legislative power of the Assembly, and forbidding the governor to assent to any bill from them until the Mutiny Act should first be complied with.

The news of this disfranchisement produced intense excitement throughout the colonies. Letters of sympathy poured in from the patriots of New England and the southern provinces, and the whole country was

